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14th Extraordinary BCP Congress Opens 30 Jan

Precongress News Conference Held

AU2901193890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Statements by Politburo member and Secretary Andrey Lukanov and Politburo member Aleksandur Lilov at a news conference in Sofia on 29 January on the occasion of the 14th Extraordinary Bulgarian Community Party Congress scheduled to open on 30 January]

[Text] [Begin Lukanov recording] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is the first extraordinary congress in its history. It is not only extraordinary by name. The circumstances under which it is going to take place are also extraordinary. Everyone in Bulgaria today—and if not everyone, the majority of Bulgarians at least—is aware of the fact that real restructuring in our country, under conditions of stability and peaceful development, is impossible without a fundamental restructuring within the BCP itself. This is our great responsibility to ourselves, to the party, and toward Bulgaria.

As we know, the Central Commission established for the preparation of the congress and the BCP Central Committee submitted two basic precongress documents to the discussion of the party and of society. They are the following: A Manifesto on Democratic Socialism and the New Draft Project for the new party statute.

I would just like to point out that the recent discussions, held at the municipal BCP committees, express extensive support for the spirit and basic esssence of these documents. This makes us optimistic about the final results expected from the 14th BCP Congress. [end recording]

Aleksandur Lilov answered a question about the importance of democratic socialism for the BCP:

[Begin Lilov recording] The meaning of this extraordinary congress is precisely to guide the party along the path of democratic socialism. This is the main thought inspiring all documents of our congress, and it applies in particular to the Manifesto published by the BCP two weeks ago.

Our general, political strategy today is to build a democratic socialist system in Bulgaria and this strategy determines the essence of the congress and the essence of our party's future development. [end recording]

Party To Broaden Outlook

AU2901214890 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 29 Jan 90

["The BCP Will Remain a Marxist Party, But Will Broaden Outlook"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Two of the distinguished BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] reformers believe in this party's potential to continue and to play a significant role in the country's life. According to Andrey Lukanov and Aleksandur Lilov, both members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, this necessitates a radical renewal of the party.

At today's press conference for Bulgarian and foreign journalists on the occasion of the BCP Extraordinary Congress which opens tomorrow, the leading reformers in the party turned for pluralism in the inter-party life, for observance of the rights of the minority and its due proportional presentation in the leading bodies.

In the future, too, the BCP will be a Marxist party but it should shake free from a number of outdated formulations Aleksandur Lilov said. It is necessary to develop further and bring up-to-date the theory, he said. The main thing now is to broaden the party's ideological outlook which should be understood as adoption of everything valuable that human civilization created.

In answering a question Andrey Lukanov said that the crisis in the BCP and in the Bulgarians society is a crisis of command and administrative and Stalinist model of socialism and not of socialism as a whole. This model proved its incapacity to solve the problems, he stressed and said that Todor Zhivkov and his circle's activities, particularly during the last 10-15 years suppressed the creative beginning in society. There are some objective problems, too, originating from the promptly changing conditions in world economy to which national economy in its present variety is not well adapted.

Will the BCP have a new secretary general, does Georgi Dzhagarov, who in the span of almost two decades held the position of vice State Council president and who reounced the BCP, have many followers? According to Andrey Lukanov Petur Mladenov's prestige is undeniable, but it is the congress which will decide the issue about the secretary general.

During the last two months there were more people who enrolled in the BCP than those who renounced it.

Andrey Lukanov said that the precongress discussion, the conferences of delegates, the positive attitude to the Manifesto and Statute of the BCP, which does not exclude difference in opinions on individual issues and on a number of issues, give grounds for optimism about the congress outcome.

It was announced that 85 percent of the delegates are participating in a congress for the first time, 70 percent of them are under 50 years of age. Fifty percent of the municipal party commitee secretaries have been replaced so far. The cadre renewal will continue and young Communists will be raised in positions.

The BCP national policy was commented on. The adherence was confirmed to the resolutions concerning these issues form the end of last year and a stress was made that this line be improved by the participation of all social forces.

It was said that Bulgaria has no Macedonian minority and that the alluded population in some parts of the country has determined itself as Bulgarian, that it has Bulgarian self-awareness. Aleksandur Lilov expressed readiness, if needed, to carry a new poll under UNO auspices.

Andrey Lukanov confirmed the Bulgarian people's sympathies for the changes in Romania, their willingness for a versatile cooperation in the name of the two countries' prosperity and in the name of good relations in the Balkans.

3,000 Delegates Participate

AU3001075390 Sofia BTA in English 0729 GMT 30 Jan 90

[“BCP Extraordinary Congress Starts De-Stalinization”—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 30 (BTA)—The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] opened here today in an atmosphere of turbulent political changes. It is expected it will renew thoroughly the party's leadership and its political course. As was announced yesterday, about 85 percent of some 3,000 delegates are participating in a party congress for the first time. During the election campaign half of the first secretaries and 60-70 percent of the plenary compositions of the BCP municipal committees were replaced.

The congress was opened by Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the BCP.

Delegates Speak at Congress

AU3001153090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] We are now in contact with the press room at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in the People's Palace of Culture. Here is Aglaya Shamlieva:

[Shamlieva] At this moment Ivan Stanev, delegate from Kremikovtsi Municipality, is speaking in the afternoon session.

[Stanev, in progress] ...which are stifling socialist democracy. On the political stage all kinds of self-styled leaders and fighters for liberty and democracy have emerged. They assaulted the party and accused it of most monstrous crimes. They declared themselves to be the greatest defenders of the working people and accused socialism of everything. A feverish political struggle began. When one becomes familiar with their positions in life, and the slogans that they are raising, it is not difficult to convince oneself that they did not deprive themselves of anything that was on the state's dinner table.

[Shamlieva] To summarize the words of Ivan Stanev, who is still speaking, he said that we have no right either to delay or to make mistakes; we bear the whole responsibility both for the road we have traveled along and for what lies ahead. Let us be impartial and objective, remembering who offered us his hand and who turned his back on us. We should draw a distinction between Stalinism and the CPSU, between Zhivkovism and the BCP.

Now I will go back one hour, to 1500, when the afternoon session of the congress began with a speech by Stefanov, a delegate from the Sliven party organization. Here are a few of his proposals: the preservation of the BCP's name; autonomy in science, culture, and education; and the principle of limited terms of office for posts down to the secretary of a primary party organization. He declared himself against factions but in support of ideological trends as the theoretical wealth of the party. His speech was interrupted by applause even before his allotted 10 minutes were up, a reflection of the audience's desire for him to leave the platform.

The next speaker was Stanka Staynova, a worker from the Vitosha plant and a delegate from Lozenets Municipality. I will summarize her words: I want to talk about the link between the workers collective with the leaders of the lower level in the party. We had distorted and twisted information which came late. The secretaries, as it were, came from one mold, that of indifference and corruption. I want to talk about the problems concerning housing construction and the mechanism for allocating housing. The mechanism is corrupted. Some of the strikes that have been occurring for weeks are a question of personal enrichment, for example, the strike of the drivers of the city transportation enterprises in Plovdiv. We, from the Vitosha plant, are categorically against the disbanding of the primary party organizations, said Stanka Staynova in conclusion.

The next speaker was Valentin Angelov, a delegate from Plovdiv, who asked the question: Has the BCP anything for which to apologize? [passage indistinct] Another question asked by Valentin Angelov was: What does socialism offer us today?

He was followed on the platform by Rumen Surbezov, a delegate from [word indistinct], who made concrete proposals for increasing control within the party itself, which should be organized on the basis of the party statute. He spoke about an immediate economic reform, an agrarian reform, and proposed that the National Assembly should adopt before the end of February a law on the land, which should guarantee the equality under the law of all forms of land ownership.

Mariya Gospodinova, a delegate from Iskur Municipality, made a very sharp and emotional speech about the problem of agriculture, the loss of confidence and the continuous reorganization, as an overall assessment of the position of agriculture in the domestic economy. She proposed giving priority to agriculture as the leading branch of the Bulgarian economy.

After Ivan Stanev from the Kremikovtsi Municipality finished, the chairman of the session read the greetings message of the CPSU Central Committee to the participants in the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress.

Delegate's 'Prognosis'

AU3001164590 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Delegate's Prognosis"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 30 (BTA)—OTECHESTVEN FRONT today runs on its front page an interview with Ivan Dimitrov, member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] since 1954.

Last summer he secretly disseminated a text, describing the crisis in Bulgaria, the total infringement of human rights, corruption and abuses with power. He demanded changes, a change of the "incapable steersman."

"In the past 80 days our leadership did not deal with the economy whatsoever," Ivan Dimitrov said in today's interview. "It is showing tardiness, unsteadiness, excessive caution. The government is helpless and should hand in its resignation."

As congress delegate Dimitrov declares himself for radical changes in the BCP, for the creation of mechanisms which guarantee democracy and humanism. [sentence as received] It is not necessary to change the name of the BCP, the party should wash away its spots bearing this name. ASO (the Alternative Socialist Organization), the Bulgarian Way to Europe and the Democratic Forum are, according to him, the fresh stream which will set to motion the party turbine, rusted from stagnation.

Dimitrov makes a prognosis that the conservative forces will prevail at the congress, which will necessitate the calling of another congress. And perhaps some delegates will come then, who will solve the issues radically.

It is better, says Dimitrov at the end of the interview, to [word indistinct] honest and unblemished people, though less experienced, in whom the people will have confidence.

25 Jan BCP CC Plenum Reported

AU3001085290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Plenum of the BCP Central Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place on 25 January at the "Georgi Kirkov" Hall of the BCP Headquarters. In addition to members and candidate members of the Central Committee the plenum also was attended by the chairman and members of the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

The participants discussed the drafts of a Manifesto on Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria, the new BCP Statute, and the BCP Central Committee Political Report to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, entitled "Restructuring the Party and Constructing Democratic Socialist Society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

The following persons took the floor: Nacho Papazov, member of the BCP Central Committee; Boris Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee; Tsotso Tsotsov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Ivan Iliev, member of the BCP Central Committee; Konstantin (Dicho) Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee; David Elazar, member of the BCP Central Committee; Vladimir Lambrev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Stoyan Zhulev, member of the BCP Central Committee; Ivan Vrachev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Zhelyazko Kolev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, member of the BCP Central Committee; Nikolay Todorov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Dimitur Popov, member of the BCP Central Committee; Gancho Nedelchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Stefan Angelov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Dimitur Nenchev, member of the BCP Central Committee; Strakhil Khristov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee; Vasil Nedev, member of the BCP Central Committee; and Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, read a concluding speech.

The Central Committee decided to submit the draft document for discussion at the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress.

Sofia Roundtable Talks Continue

AU2901125890

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1103 GMT carries a 90-minute live relay from the Palace of Culture in Sofia of the second morning session of the roundtable talks between representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the independent opposition groups.

Khristofor Subev, from the Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values, opens the session and, at 1105 GMT, gives the floor to Toni Raskov, member of his delegation, who speaks about the activity of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church. He expresses "readiness to present documents on the foreign activity of the Bulgarian Church." He attacks Patriarch Maksim for not having defended people persecuted under the previous system, and "for living in luxury" provided by the organs of the

Ministry of Internal Affairs, and urges him to ask the people for forgiveness and resign. Raskov completes his speech at 1114 GMT having spoken for 9 minutes.

At 1115 GMT, the floor is given to Vasil Mruchkov, former chief prosecutor, who speaks on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and calls for the participants to show "a more constructive spirit" at the roundtable talks. Mruchkov speaks about the "structure of the supreme state bodies as an essential part of the new political system." He emphasizes the socialist character of the state, and points out that "only the Bulgarian people can resolve the issue of the country's character in a sovereign manner." Mruchkov describes the "political pluralism that exists in Bulgaria de facto," and proposes the adoption of judicial and political guarantees of this pluralism, the Law on Parties and Law on Elections being such guarantees, in his view. He proposes consideration of a new election system in Bulgaria. In conclusion Mruchkov points out the importance of "depoliticising the judicial system in Bulgaria." Mruchkov ends his statement at 1136 GMT having spoken for 21 minutes.

At 1138 GMT, Zhelyu Zhelev, who chairs the session, announces that seven people have requested the floor, and urges them to keep their statements as brief as possible. He gives the floor to Atanas Kirchev of the Independent Students Organization, who speaks about the foreign accounts of Bulgarian leaders and says that the investigation on this matter has not been conducted in an efficient manner. He says that "Bulgarian youth no longer have a strict attitude toward Marxism." Kirchev ends his statement at 1143 GMT having spoken for 5 minutes.

At 1143 GMT, Zhelev gives the floor to Milko Shlukov of the Independent Students Organization. He advocates postponing the elections because "early elections will slow down the process of democratization." At the same time he says that only a "new and democratic National Assembly" can guarantee the process of democratization and demands that the BCP respect its commitment to withdraw 50 percent of the National Assembly members at the next session. This would be a sign that the BCP really relinquishes its political monopoly, Shlukov says, pointing out that something similar had happened last week in the CSSR. He demands that all members of the courts and the chief prosecutor's office immediately leave the National Assembly. Shlukov ends his statement at 1150 GMT, having spoken for 7 minutes.

At 1151 GMT, the floor is taken by Vyacheslav Spasov of the All- People's Committee on Defense of National Interests, who describes the goals of his organization. Spasov speaks for 3 minutes only and at 1154 GMT and gives the floor to Kiril Kharamiev of his organization, who proposes a constitutional amendment that will define Bulgaria as a "national, law-governed, and democratic state." Spasov also proposes to reduce the number of the National Assembly members and carry out a reform of the Supreme Court. He ends his statement at 1202 GMT, having spoken for 19 minutes.

At 1203 GMT, the announcer says that the delegation of the Union of Democratic forces left the hall during the statements of the members of the Independent Students Organization.

At 1204 GMT, the floor is taken by Petur Beron, Ecoglasnost's leader, who speaks on the importance of depoliticizing the Armed Forces. He proposes to call the country "The Republic of Bulgaria," change the country's national coat of arms, celebrate 3 March as the national holiday rather than 9 September, and destroy the barbed wire fence around the country's borders. Beron ends his statement at 1208 GMT having spoken for 5 minutes.

At 1209 GMT, the floor is given to Zhivko Zhivkov, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, who speaks about the different forms of ownership. He maintains that "neither Marx nor Lenin said that the private property of people who do not exploit other people's labor is capitalist property." Zhivkov says that agreements on free and democratic elections and on preventing the destabilization of society must be the two most important decisions of the roundtable. He ends his statement at 1121 GMT, after having spoken for 12 minutes.

At 1123 GMT, Metropolitan Pimen takes the floor, complaining in a 2-minute statement that Bulgarian Television has censored a recent speech of his. He notes that 300,000 copies of the bible will be printed in Bulgaria.

At 1225 GMT, Minister Belcho Belchev takes the floor and says that he must leave the discussion because he is busy. He proposes that the roundtable be interrupted, with the participants who could not speak making their statements at the next session. The proposal is accepted.

The date for the next session is set for 6 February at 1000 [0800 GMT].

At 1230 GMT, Zhelev closes the session and the live relay ends.

News Conference Follows Talks

AU2901211190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Immediately following the end of today's roundtable talks, a news conference took place at which the four spokesmen of the participating delegations expressed the points of view of their parties and unions on the progress of the debates and on the subject of establishing a broad, provisional, representative government of national consensus.

Ivan Glushkov from the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] expressed further views on the proposal submitted by the BZNS Excecutive Council by stressing that there is no question of a coalition government, but of a provisional government expected to include participants in the national roundtable talks.

Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces, expressed the disagreemnt of the union and its refusal to participate in any form of government whatsoever at this stage, and proposed that the BZNS should leave the present government which would give the opportunity to the Bulgairan Communist Party [BCP] to prove its goodwill in connection with solving the most urgent, current problems.

This idea was further pursued by Rumen Vodenicharov, another leader of the Union of Democratic Forces, who reminded the audience of the fact that at today's roundtable talks the representatives of the Independent Federation of Students urged the Communist deputies in the National Assembly to free 50 percent of the seats they occupy so that an opportunity for by-elections may be established.

Aleksandur Mirchev, spokesman of the BCP delegation, stressed that many of the issues in question would be discussed at the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress which is scheduled to open tomorrow.

He supported the idea of establishing a coalition government by pointing out that such a government is required at this stage in order to seek the path toward national consensus.

Ruse Rally Demands Minister Petrov's Resignation

AU2901214390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] As our Ruse correspondent Lyuben Antonov reports, a protest rally was convened at the initiative of the Ecoglanost Association and with the cooperation of the Union of Democratic Forces in Ruse tonight.

The participants protested the decision adopted by the National Assembly on 5 January, according to which the resignation of Minister Petur Petrov was not accepted.

Representatives of Ecoglasnost, of the Union of Democratic Forces, of the Union of Democratic Forces, of the Civic Initiative Club, of the Green Party, of the clergy, of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agarian Union, and nonparty citizens took the floor. They angrily protested this new attempt of the National Assembly deputies to defend the totalitarian regime and to disregard the unanimous views of thousands of Ruse citizens who signed a petitition to the National Assembly for the dismissal of Petur Petrov, the former Ruse party leader and present minister.

A telegram from Neshka Robeva was read at the rally in which she accuses the mass media of having distorted her statement to the National Assembly. In supporting the statements of the speakers, Ruse citizens once more expressed their resolute request urging the immediate dismissal of Petur Petrov from his ministerial post, the dismissal of all National Assembly deputies who have lost their constituents' confidence, and the resignation of the court and prosecution organs who obediently served the totalitarian in the past.

Within less than an hour over 1,000 new signatures of Ruse citizens were collected for the immediate dismissal of Minister Petur Petrov, in addition to the petitions submitted to the National Assembly, to the Council of Ministers, to the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, and to the mass media.

Mladenov Meeting With Journalists Reported

AU1701165990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 90 p 1

[BTA report: "Journalists and Renewal"]

[Text] Sofia, 12 January (BTA)—The role of the mass media in society's processes of renewal and the journalists' contribution to asserting the democratic changes were discussed at the 12 January meeting between the chairman of the State Council and the representatives of journalists throughout the country.

In his introductory speech, Comrade Petur Mladenov analyzed the situation in Bulgaria after the 10 November Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and stressed the significant changes in social life. The heavy burden of the heritage of Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime in anything related to the ethnic issue was pointed out. Restoring the constitutional rights of all citizens is the only way of correcting the mistakes and regaining the country's lost international prestige. In this context the chairman of the State Council pointed out that, in the future, national policy must be worked out with the participation of all people. Speaking about the complex situation in the country that had emerged in recent days, he stressed that dialogue and constructive proposals for reducing the tension in the country are needed, and pointed out that the journalists can make a decisive contribution in this respect.

During the conversation, that continued for more than 3 hours, many specific proposals were made as to how to resolve the urgent problems in the political, economic, and moral spheres. The participants in the meeting stressed that it is necessary for the processes of renewal to encompass all spheres of life and affect all parts of the country. Support for the 29 December decisions of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers formed the common denominator of the statements.

The participants in the meeting pointed out that strengthening the national unity and stabilizing the economy are the main issues that must be resolved in the country. The role of the journalists in achieving a reconciliation and calming the atmosphere was emphasized. It was proposed that the mass media devote more space to reflecting problems of economic life, and that representatives of the government and the economic organizations, along with scientific workers, must present specific views related to overcoming the present crisis. Proposals to expand glasnost, repeal certain undemocratic legal acts that affect the mass media, and accelerate the preparation of the Law on the Press were also made.

Defense Ministry BCP Conference Supports Renewal

AU2301152190 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 90 p 3

[Colonel Ivan Ganchev report: "For Decisive Renewal"]

[Text] A Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] conference was held at the Ministry of National Defense on 18 January 1990. The report of the political department which was read by Officer Manchev contained a fundamental analysis of the country's present political situation and of the circumstances which caused the past abuses in sociopolitical life and are responsible for the current economic crisis. It was stressed in the report that the Communists in the primary party organizations in their overwhelming majority support the BCP Central Committee policy aimed at radical reforms in all spheres of our life.

The party's concern about the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic regime combined with efforts aimed at preserving the people's living standard and assisting the weaker strata of the population, to the solution of the ownership problems, to the definite dismantling of the command-bureaucratic system, and to the elimination of all kinds of privileges, was duly appreciated.

The decision of 29 December 1989 was evaluated as a justified and humanitarian act, as an important step along the path of democratization and restructuring within the framework of and in the interest of socialism. The report stressed the requirement of establishing legal norms for democratization within the Army on the basis of the one-man command principle.

The speaker dwelled on some important and urgent questions related to the development of the educational process and the comprehensive life of the troops, and concerning the requirement for improving the material base of education, as well as the prompt and effective introduction of progressive, scientific-technical achievements. In the closing passage of the report Officer Manchev stressed that the Army belongs to all the people, that it is guided by state institutions established on a constitutional basis, and that its main task is to maintain a high state of combat readiness for the defense of Bulgaria's independence and for the protection of our country's borders.

The statements made at the conference expressed the active interest of their speakers in the topics discussed and raised urgent, topical problems in a spirit of sharp criticism and self- criticism. The statements reflected the sincere wish of all speakers to find the most correct method of implementing renewal for their own activities and for the party.

The Communists Zikulov, Tanev, Dimitrov, Kunchev, Stanichev, Rusev, Dyulgerov, Makedonski, Vulchev, Minchev, Khristov, Dimov, Cherikov, Novakov, Bakalov, Mitkov, Iliev, and others participated in the debates.

The rate of changes, the definite elimination of all privileges, including those within the Army, the problems of military organization under the present conditions, the total obligation for all young people to serve in the Army, without leaving any "open doors" for anyone whoever he may be, and the Army's role in consolidating the people's unity were the basic topics of discussion at the conference. The majority of speakers supported the requirement for a renewal of cadres within the party and the Army, for a drastic reduction of the party-administrative apparatus, and for improving the role of science within the Army, for the total introduction of promotion on a competitive basis, and for the consolidation of social justice in the Army based on new principles and postulates.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, also took the floor at the conference. He assessed the country's political situation stressing the logical inevitablity of the processes of democratization which involved all socialist countries from Eastern Europe. Dwelling on the difficult inheritance from the former regime, on the current crisis in the political, economic, moral, and intellectual sphere, he declared that the party has embarked on the path of drastic, revolutionary reforms and that its real rebirth should begin at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov stressed that criticism related to the alleged slowing down in the pace of restructuring is unjustified, considering that everything should be rebuilt on a legal and democratic basis after the long period during which our country was subjeced to a totalitarian regime. Excessively hasty stpes in connection with adopting numerous responsible decisions may prove erroneous and cause other, harmful phenomena in the country's social and economic life.

The minister of national defense declared, that along with the renewal which involves our entire society, the Army should introduce comprehensive reforms in the spheres of cadres, structural organization, and Army regulations. The Army general closed his statement by pointing out that democracy requires a high state of organization and responsibility within the framework of democratic laws which apply to all citizens. A high state of organization and discipline within the Army, however, are above all determined by the Army's basic obligation—namely the task of maintaining the standards of combat training and combat readiness.

The conference adopted a resolution and elected delegates to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress.

Spokesman Reviews Role of Interior Troops

AU2201093090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Officer Stefan Georgiev, spokesman of the Interior Troops, by NARODNA ARMIYA representative Senior Lieutenant Petyo Kostadinov; date and place not given: "In the Name of All-National Interests"]

[Text] [Kostadinov] When, on what basis, and with what aim were the Interior Ministry Troops created?

[Georgiev] It is high time that more glasnost was given to the purpose, functions, and activities of the forces in which some of the sons of the people complete their military service. This is especially necessary because of the fact that recently certain groups among the public have been showing a marked interest in them, exhibiting, as well as good intentions, certain impure motives.

The troops were created by Decree No 6 of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 15 November 1948. They carried out important assignments, connected with consolidating the people's democratic power, ensuring security and public order in the country, eliminating certain groups of saboteurs and terrorists, and guarding important state and economic objectives and communications installations. A number of officers, sergeants, and other ranks have died in the struggle against the enemies of the homeland, such as Major Evstati Zakhariev, Private Petko Skachkov, Junior Sergeant Stoyan Panayotov, Junior Sergeant Vasil Khristov, Private Georgi Kozarev, and others.

The disbanding of the Interior Ministry Troops in 1961 proved to be a profound mistake. If we take a wider view of the issue, similar forces, though they differ radically in their aims and tasks and the ways in which they are used, exist in almost all the capitalist countries, including in our southern neighbors, and often are much more numerous.

The Interior Troops were created in their present form by Council of Ministers Decree No 4 of 29 January 1985. In essence, we may speak of them not as newly established, but as reestablished forces.

[Kostadinov] Was not the formation of the Interior Ministry Troops a preparation for the so-called revival process, that is, a precautionary measure against possible unrest?

[Georgiev] The reestablishment of the Interior Ministry Troops was not directly connected with the so-called revival process conducted in 1984 and 1985, because their formation actually began in the spring of 1985 and was completed in the autumn of 1986.

[Kostadinov] Did the troops take part in repressions at the order or on the instructions of the overthrown regime?

[Georgiev] The Interior Ministry Troops were not and cannot be an organ of repression, because of their purpose, structure, and composition. They are an integral part of the people and serve to defend the people's interests.

In May and June 1989 the troops took part in the restoration of public order and the control of mass unrest that arose in certain regions of the country with a concentration of Turkish-speaking population. In so doing, the Interior Ministry Troops strictly observed the laws of the country. In the majority of cases they acted in a preventative way, the chief method used being dialogue, persuasion and dissuasion. Only in cases of gross violence displayed by individual citizens and groups and after all democratic means had been exhausted was it necessary to use forcible methods. I should stress that in no incident did the Interior Ministry Troops use firearms, nor did they cause a single casualty by their actions, even at moments when the lives of individual soldiers were placed at risk and attempts were made to seize weapons and ammunition. A number of officers and men received contusion-type wounds.

[Kostadinov] Are there any grounds for drawing a comparison between you and the Romanian Securitate?

[Georgiev] It is absolutely impossible to make any comparison or analogy between the Interior Ministry Troops of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Securitate in Romania. As I have already said, the Interior Ministry Troops are not and cannot be an organ of repression. The shoot-service enlisted personnel are drawn from the regular annual contingents of young men eligible for military service, while the commanding officers come from the military schools and schools for reserve officers. As part of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Interior Ministry Troops are subordinate to the supreme commander in chief of the Bulgarian Armed Forces and are supervised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which has the right to issue orders for using them only in extreme situations, and by agreement with the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

[Kostadinov] What are the basic tasks that the troops are solving in their everyday training and combat work? How do things stand with the problem of motivating the enlisted men on fixed terms of service?

[Georgiev] Like the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] the troops carry out training every day in accordance with the order of the minister of internal affairs, the organizational and methodological instructions, the program for combat and political training, and the statutes and instructions of the Armed Forces. Active educational work is carried to develop a patriotic spirit and instill strict observance of the laws and legal order of the country.

The problem of motivating the short-service enlisted men is based on their devotion to the homeland, their readiness to defend constitutional order in the country, their unity with the people, and their devotion to the cause of the people. Our units maintain friendly ties with labor collectives, students, and working young people. Every year they actively participate in collecting the harvest and provide help in eliminating the consequences of certain natural disasters.

[Kostadinov] Under certain conditions, is it possible to envisage any cooperation with the units of the BPA?

[Georgiev] Yes, and this cooperation consists of maintaining permanent links in personnel training and education. In many cases we use the Army's training facilities, literature, aids, and so on, and in certain conditions cooperation is possible on issues concerning the territorial defense of the country.

[Kostadinov] Does not the cadre policy followed have a negative effect on the quality of the command staff in the BPA? Are there any grounds to speak of top-heavy establishments?

[Georgiev] We consider that the cadre policy followed in the Interior Ministry Troops cannot and does not have any effect on the quality of the BPA staff, because the number of officers is small, so that there is no reason to speak of top-heavy establishments. For example, a total of 34 officers serve in the main management and support organ, while in the troop units the BPA organizational structure is used.

[Kostadinov] In the context of the democratization of society, and given the existence of other state security organs, are not the Interior Ministry Troops an anomaly?

[Georgiev] It cannot be considered or thought that the formation and existence of the Interior Ministry Troops is an anomaly. This is evident from the tasks with which they are entrusted:

—They take part in protecting public order at mass ceremonies, rallies, demonstrations, and sports, cultural, and other public meetings.

—The assist in eliminating the consequences of major accidents, rescuing people and property from fires and natural disasters, and in protecting state and personal property left unattended.

—Together with the territorial units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs they take part in preventing breaches of public order when these are of a mass nature, present a danger to citizens' lives and health, disorganize the work of enterprises, organizations, or institutions, or are aimed at destroying, looting, or damaging state, public, or private property.

—They combat forms of sabotage, wrecking, or terrorist activity and assist the other Interior Ministry organs in detaining and disarming armed persons who have committed crimes.

—They assist the Border Troops during incidents and when the situation at the border becomes complex.

—The guard important state, administrative, and economic buildings and installations.

[Kostadinov] Do you consider that the Interior Ministry Troops are needed today in their present form of organization?

[Georgiev] Yes, they are, and I would even add that their structure should be further improved and developed, because under the conditions of expanding democracy it is necessary to guarantee the liberty, rights, and security of the citizens.

Podkrepa's Trenchev on Government, Elections

AU1501110590 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed report on interview with Konstantin Trenchev, president of the unofficial "Podkrepa" trade union in Vienna; date not given: "Those Who Are Reluctant"]

[Text] "The majority of the people abominate the totalitarian regime that continues to be in power, but they are afraid of their own courage. What if the unknown path toward democracy is a dead-end street?"— The Bulgarians are still reluctant in their efforts toward political renewal. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the unofficial trade union "Podkrepa" says what many Bulgarians feel, namely that the replacement of Zhivkov by Petur Mladenov was nothing but a matter of form. "The only thing the new government has done so far has been to issue the declaration on the Turks." The decision to give back to the Turks the right to use their Muslim names is a "provocation for the people." This step has encouraged the nationalists, he said.

The objective is a Western-style constitutional state: In order to guarantee the setting up of democratic structures, the opposition pleads for "pre-elections in May, and free elections at the end of the year."

Yugoslav TV Program on Bulgaria Shows 'Bias'

AU1801111790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 90

[Article by Nikolay Koev, BTA correspondent: "Skopje TV—Partiality and Bias in Reports About Our Country," specially dispatched for RABOTNICHESKO DELO]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 January—I am writing these lines with bitterness and great disappointment, but not without hope that the event in question might be recorded as an isolated case in the sinister files of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations. I confess that it is difficult for me to judge the work of my colleagues, being acquainted with the problems of the creative journalist and being aware that it is sometimes difficult to get away from the routine and from subservience to a given political concept. For this reason I would like to confine myself to some considerations about professionalism in connection with the television program in question and I will try to tell my readers about my own emotions as a television viewer on the evening of Sunday, 7 January 1990, when for the first time I felt I was a stranger in a place which is separated from Bulgaria by only 370 kilometers.

What am I talking about? In its late-night show the Second Program of Belgrade Television carried a 55-minute documentary produced by Skopje Television, which according to its author Branislav Dimovski, had undertaken the ambitious project of revealing the processes underway in contemporary Bulgaria. In "benevolently" pursuing this goal, the camera team attentively focused on the participants in a rally on National Assembly Square, trying to find suitable people to interview. This is how Bulgaria was presented to our neighbors in Yugoslavia on their television screens, namely through the mouth of an interviewee who stated: "The concentration camps in Auschwitz and Dachau were nothing compared with Bulgarian concentration camps." A little later, a teenage girl from Sofia High School No 1, sharing her "great experience of life" confidently declared: "You, like ourselves, would demand the resignation of those who tortured us for 40 years." Appropriately placed microphones of Skopje Television very audibly transmitted chants, such as: "BCP Is a Mafia," "Down With the BCP," and "They Are All Corrupt!" At the same time the reporter's tape recorder was already tuned in on the well-known wave of the so- called: "Macedonian minority," while the problems concerning the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population served as a natural link to the desired subject.

I will stop at this point, because as a matter of fact the 55-minute "creative program" did not provide enough material worth describing what we heard and saw on the screen, considering that it suffered from a well-known journalist's disease—partiality and bias. Not a single Bulgarian parliamentarian, party, or government representative was shown, and not the least understanding was expressed for our country's difficulties. On the contrary, the reporters aggressively exposed and reported on the wounds of a society which, as I would like to assure my colleagues from Skopje, is perfectly capable of overcoming its problems with its own efforts.

Nevertheless, I am tormented by one question: Why? Why was a report which turned out to be anti-Bulgarian in essence included in the program of Belgrade Television, when our mass media are full of objective, and even exaggeratedly benevolent, information about the SFRY? Why is tolerance not reciprocated? Why, why? Let the author of the documentary in question, who has evidently forgotten the fact that journalism and diplomacy are not mutually exclusive, while the well-known principle of reciprocity is not only a prerogative of diplomacy, ask himself this question. Rather than proceeding along the path of verbal dispute, we should search for things that will bring us closer together. I hope that the common striving for good neighborly relations and friendship will not in the least be affected by commissioned television experiments such as the one produced by the Skopje Television Studio

Japanese Newspaper Interviews Lukanov

AU1801154090 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], and Mr. Petur Beron, chairman of Ecoglasnost, have already been introduced to the Japanese readers.

Today the YOMIURI SHIMBUN newspaper carries an interview with Mr. Andrey Lukanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP, presenting him as one of the heralds of the idea of reforms and a specialist in economics possessing high businesslike qualities.

Asked if any agreement will be reached at the present round-table talks, Mr. Lukanov said: "I don't think things can make progress so quickly. There are areas, for example the problems related to the constitution amendments, the free elections and a number of socio-economic problems which must be discussed by the respective experts. It will take more time to achieve a real consensus."

According to him the socio-economic problems are the most difficult problems which the round table have got to face; how to stabilize the financial situation in the country, how to improve its trade balance.

Answering a question if the BCP has enough strength to regain the people's confidence and whether it is going to change its name, Mr. Lukanov said: "Indeed, the party has lost the people's confidence, but it would be a mistake to think it is not strong enough to play the leading role in society. Without its Communist Party Bulgaria is unimaginable. The most important thing now is to build a democratic party. There is no other way of survival. There are some proposals for changing the party's name, but I am for keeping its present name Communist Party. But as there is a generation of party members who insist on this change, we intend to discuss this problem very seriously."

Draft Law on Academic Autonomy Published

AU1801184990

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 17 January on pages 1 and 2 publishes the 3,000-word "Draft Law on the Academic Autonomy of Higher Education Establishments." The draft law consists of 17 articles grouped under two sections, followed by 800 words of "Concluding Instructions" and an "Additional Instruction."

Section One, entitled "General Premises," contains two articles, of which Article 2 specifies that "higher education establishments organize and carry out their work by combining academic independence of the educational process and scientific research with the participation of the state, which conducts a uniform policy in the field of higher education...."

Section 2 is entitled "Academic Autonomy of the Higher Education Establishments," and details the specific fields in which these institutions are empowered to act independently in organizing their educational activities, establishing departments, selecting staff, compiling curriculums and courses, creating their own funds for educational purposes, and organizing their own finances. Article 5 states that "the state organizes, encourages, and aids higher education" by conducting a national policy for higher education, founding state institutes for training specialists in higher education, "determining the obligatory criteria and requirements for obtaining a higher education diploma and a qualification," and offering funds to the institutions in return for fulfilling state commissions for training specialists.

Articles 8 through 12 describe the organs of self-management of the education establishments, and later articles deal with the appointment of staff and students' rights and obligations. The concluding instructions contain amendments to the existing Law on Higher Education.

Havel Holds News Conference in Prague 29 Jan

Spokesman's Opening Statement

LD2901161990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Opening statement at news conference by presidential press spokesman Michael Zantovskiy in Prague Castle—live]

[Excerpts] I welcome you to today's news conference. Before the president comes in, allow me to introduce his colleagues who are taking part in today's news conference. On the right here we have Mr Jiri Krizan, the president's adviser, then Mr Sasa Vondra, also an adviser to the president of the republic. We have also invited Mr Lubos Dobrovsky, a press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And my name is Michael Zantovskiy. [passage omitted]

President Vaclav Havel today received Mr Samih 'Abd al-Fattah, PLO ambassador to Czechoslovakia. The president, in the course of the conversation, expressed the wish of the Czechoslovak public for a just peace in the Middle East and said that he supports the right of the Palestinian people for their own home. At the same time he expressed understanding of Israel's worries proceeding from the thousands of years of painful experiences of the Jewish People. He supports dialogue between the two sides and said that the planned renewal of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel is in no way detrimental to our friendly relations with the Palestinian people. On the contrary, Czechoslovakia could play a mediating role in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue if the two parties so wish. The president conveyed to the Palestinian ambassador an invitation to Yasir 'Arafat, President of the Palestinian state and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The Palestinian ambassador has welcomed the democratic changes which have taken place in Czechoslovakia in past months, and voiced the hope that these changes would contribute to peace in Europe and in the whole world, including the Middle East. He welcomed the offer for a mediating role for Czechoslovakia in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. He expressed a certain concern about the renewal of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel at a time when Israel continues to ignore UN resolutions and continues to occupy Palestinian teritory.

The president of the republic also received a delegation of the Green Party Faction in the West German Parliament.

Havel Responds to Questions

LD2901190390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1405 GMT 29 Jan 90

[News conference with President Vaclav Havel, presidential press spokesman Michael Zantovskiy, presidential advisers Jiri Krizan and Sasa Vondra, and Foreign Ministry press spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky by local and foreign reporters in Prague Castle—live]

[Text] [Zantovsky] Your questions please.

[Reporter] I am from the INDEPENDENT. As politicians of a lesser importance meet Mr Walesa, don't you think that your meeting with him should also have taken place?

[Havel] I was not able to meet Mr Walesa for two reasons. We might have, of course, flown to Gdansk, but the weather prevented that option, and Lech Walesa could not come to me in Warsaw. But I was in touch with him through Mr Geremek, Adam Michnik, and Mr Mazowiecki. Lech Walesa sent me warm regards, which I returned.

[Reporter] Richard [last name indistinct], VLASTA. Mr President, have you any life-long habit which you have had to change because of your presidential post?

[Havel] In fact I have not changed any of my habits, but I had to adapt some of my habits to the new situation.

[Reporter] LIDOVE NOVINY, Prague. Mr President, did you speak in Warsaw and Budapest with Polish and Hungarian representatives about a possible harmonization of your action toward CEMA, or did you discuss cooperation regarding the withdrawal of troops?

[Havel] Although the visits were originally intended as symbolic, they turned very soon into working visits. We conducted very intensive debates, naturally, above all, on the topic of coordination of our return to Europe, and this has its economic, political, military and other aspects. We spoke about the kind of Europe we want to return to and, of course, we spoke about the question of the stay of Soviet troops in our countries. I have to say that in both those countries I met with an exceptional understanding, and we agreed to continue our talks. The first such a continuation should be the planned meeting in Bratislava.

[Reporter] I represent CTK, and my question—in fact, I have two questions—concern your expected visit to the Soviet Union. The first one, when are you meeting Gorbachev in Moscow and what are you going to discuss with him in particular; and the second one, since we have been linked to the Soviet Union for 40 years both politically and economically, in what way do you foresee future cooperation?

[Havel] I have already been asked many times at various news conferences about what I am going to discuss with Mr Gorbachev. I have always had to give the same answer, namely that it would be impolite for Mr Gorbachev to learn from the press what I want to discuss with him. As for your second question, namely the relationship of democratic and independent Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union would be like those of Czechoslovakia with all other states and countries. They will have friendly relations and economic relations based on the principal of mutual advantage.

[Hrabovsky] My name is Hrabovsky. I represent Czechoslovak Television. The fact that you hold the office of president means to many people a guarantee of free and democratic elections. I wonder whether the fact that the new electoral law will not admit independent candidates will still make the elections democratic, and whether the fact that this draft bill is not going to be submitted for a public debate, as I heard yesterday, tallies with your notion of democracy?

[Havel] The draft electoral bill was completed only yesterday. I have not yet had the opportunity to read it. The bill is to be approved by the Federal Assembly in 1 month at the earliest. By that time, the bill will have been discussed by both national councils, constitutional and legal committees, and other bodies. I envisage that I will also read it and make my comments to the authors; if I do not like the bill I will propose another one to the Federal Assembly, as is my right as president. As far as independent candidates are concerned, the matter is more complicated, but essentially the present draft presumes that independent candidates will have sufficient room among the list of candidates of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence.

Since we are discussing the election law, and since I have been asked by Mr Hrabovsky of Czechoslovak Television, I would like to add one more comment. In this country we have not had free elections for quite some time, and people are not ready for them. They will need an extensive preelection education. This education should, apart from other things, rest in giving election-law specialists from abroad, from our country, and the authors of our election law alike, an opportunity to extensively explain the law on television. In my opinion, yesterday's television discussion between Mr Hrabovsky and Dr Chodera was not a very opportune example of preelection education. There will be many opportunities to put this right.

[(Roth), in English] Mr President, my name is (Edwin Roth). I work for Radio 100.6 in Berlin. I was here in 1968, before, during, and after the invasion. I want to ask you, perhaps as the writer Vaclav Havel as much as the president of Czechoslovakia: Looking back, do you think any mistakes were made at the time by Czechoslovakia? By the way, congratulations on your revolution. The other question I want to ask, which is something which (?proceeds) from what was said today about Palestine. Have you forgiven Yasir 'Arafat for his enthusiastic support of the Russian invasion at the time, and for everything which was done by the Soviet Union and by the regime of Czechoslovakia throughout the last 20 years?

[Havel] As for the first question. We all make mistakes, and nobody is perfect at policy making; there are no perfect politics. I firmly believe that 1968 will, in the end, be subjected to an unbiased, free, and historical analysis. The possible errors of the then politicians will also be analyzed. As for the second question, I meet people who not only approved the 1968 attack on Czechoslovakia, but also the people who implemented it. As you probably know, Mr Jaruzelski was minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic in 1968. This did not prevent my very frank and intensive talks with him. When he himself kept returning to this topic and when he was explaining and apologizing, it was I who kept telling him that it is the future rather than the past with which we have to be concerned.

[Reporter] I am from Soviet television. Mr President, it is 1 month since you were elected to the post. Have you succeeded in what you wanted to do, and how would you characterize the month?

[Havel] I have to admit I work very intensively—about 18 hours a day. I try to work very fast, but I feel I have not done enough. It might be connected with the fact that I have never been a president before and that I am only learning how to be one now. Perhaps it is connected with the fact that since I have become a president, I have been asked in a week or a month's time to resolve what accummulated in this country over the past 40, 50, or even 70 years.

[Reporter] Mr President, why have you claimed back several Bibles from Sweden? My second question: Is it possible to have diplomatic relations with Israel and diplomatic relations with Palestine at the same time?

[Havel] I will answer your second question first. I can't see why it would be impossible to have concurrently diplomatic relations with Israel and Palestine. Now the answer to the first question. In our society the issue of objects of art being taken from Czechoslovakia in the time of 30 years of war is of great interest. Therefore, I mentioned in my Federal Assembly speech that when I am in Sweden I will ask whether at least a symbolic part of these collections could be returned as a gesture of good will.

[Reporter, in English] If you are asked, will you refuse to remain a president for another 5 years? The second question: Did you have any reaction from the U.S. and the Russian sides on your proposal to hold a summit in Prague?

[Havel] With regard to the first question, I do not know what the situation will be in July and I do not know whether any political force or the public will put my name forward as a candidate for the post of president. Consequently, I could not know either whether I would accept the candidature or not. As for the summit, I got a very prompt response from Mr Bush, who said that he was very touched by this offer, and spoke about it nicely, but said at the same time that the next summit between him and Mr Gorbachev was being prepared, and obviously it is to be held elsewhere. This naturally does not rule out that any of the further summits—if there are further summits—could not be held in Prague. But this is only what I say.

[Reporter] Czechoslovak radio. On your return from Berlin and Munich, I asked you about the results, and you said then that every day we lose something and find something. Allow me to turn your answer from that time to a question; namely, what has Czechoslovakia lost, or rather what have we given up, and what on the other side have we found in our relationship with Hungary and Poland? Specifically, I would like to know whether there has been a certain coordination of plans for a political formation between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, and the so-called cooperation zone on the Adriatic and along the Danube?

[Havel] The Danube-Adriatic community is already in existence. Czechoslovakia was offered membership. I accepted the membership when it was offered to Czechoslovakia by the Hungarian president. At the same time I assured him that this community does not run counter to, nor is it in competition with, our plan to coordinate our return to Europe with Poland and Hungary. I assured him that they do not exclude each other; on the contrary they complement each other. I also mentioned the idea that has emerged here, and that is now also beginning to be discussed, namely the idea that an analogical community like the Danube-Adriatic one in the south should begin to form in the north. It would include Poland, the Scandinavian countries and again, Czechoslovakia, which would thereby become a kind of a link between the two communities. It would thus fulfill a certain integrating role which rightly belongs to it, or rather some sort of a duty stemming from its geographical position.

As far as the question on what we have gained, or what I have gained and what I have lost, I would like to say that I have gained a great deal. I have come to understand the situation in both these countries far better than before. I have formed a closer relationship with many people, both state officials and public representatives. I have encountered an atmosphere of great mutual accord and mutual understanding, and this is an undoubted gain. As far as what I have lost was the opportunity to have a glass of cognac in the aircraft on my way back because in the meantime I had banned the drinking of alcohol on board.

[Reporter] MAGYAR NEMZET. Mr President, my question is what was your impression during your visit to Hungary of the situation of the Slovak minority in Hungary? The second question is, can we get more detailed information about what kind of laws you are preparing for the status of minorities in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] We met representatives of the Slovak minority on the morning of the 1st day of our visit to Hungary. It was shown that they have certain problems. We discussed these problems immediately with Hungarian state officials, who assured us that the solution of these problems is being prepared.

As far as the laws are concerned, I know nothing about any specific law being prepared to this effect. The future constitution will determine whether the position of national minorities will be defined differently than it is now. I have already said that the Federal Assembly should approve a constitutional law which would establish some kind of a federal committee for nationalities questions and the questions of various ethnic groups, which would have certain powers and which would be able to deal with this problem immediately. If this has not yet happened, it is mainly because our Constitution is somewhat clumsy; that is, it demands a change of the Constitution and therefore the passing of a constitutional law whenever a new ministry is established or an old one is abolished or divided into two. If we want to live in a state based on the rule of law we must observe certain legislative procedures; therefore, all that we want cannot be carried out quickly.

[Reporter] Bulgarian television, "Panorama" program. Esteemed Mr President, your name is very popular in Bulgaria. Not only Bulgarian President Mladenov, but various gatherings of the Bulgarian pubic have sent you telegrams of congratulations on your election to the post of president of the CSSR. My question is, what would you wish for the Bulgarian people, who are striving toward democracy? What is your message to Bulgarian democratic forces now that a roundtable discussion is in progress in our country? Thank you.

[Havel] I wish Bulgarian people to set off onto the path from a totalitarian system to democracy. I hope they are able to do this in a peaceful way, without any unnecessary dramas. For the roundtable discussion I wish the same, or recommend the same which I already recommended for the roundtable in Germany when I paid a visit there. That is, If there is a danger that one side is about to leave the discussion, or if the sides start arguing too much, they should declare a minute of silence and then a minute of laughter. Then they should continue; this way, things will be under control again. This is our experience in Czechoslovakia, and it works.

[Smidova] Jana Smidova SVOBODNE SLOVO. First, how do you think the Chinese Government will react to the Dalai Lama's visit? second, could you tell us some details about Foreign Minister Dienstbier's statement that we have stopped exporting weapons?

[Havel] The second question, I think, should be answered by Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky. The first question I can answer.

[Dobrovsky] I will refer to my statement given on the matter to the press, but I can perhaps throw some light on how this came about. Mr Dienstbier offered a very comprehensive interview for THE NEW YORK TIMES. In this interview the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent picked on one sentence and presented it in a rather distorted way, which was to say that Czechoslovakia is stopping the export of arms and has suspended their production. However, Mr Dienstbier had something else in mind, which you will find if you read the interview carefully. The stopping of deliveries of weapons—not those for hunting, or sport, but those which kill people—is a Czechoslovak foreign policy line, and deliveries will be stopped gradually, taking into account all Czechoslovakia's international pledges, and also taking into account the need for a gradual transition of the military industry to civil production. This is all I can say on the subject.

[Havel] Concerning the first question addressed to me: I have told the Chinese ambassador that the Dalai Lama is coming to Czechoslovakia on a private visit as my personal guest. I intended to invite him long before I became president and I intend to meditate with him. I told the ambassador that the main reason for his visit is to acquaint me and other people with spiritual traditions of his office and Buddhism; this is no attack on the integrity of the People's Republic of China, with which we want to continue to have the best possible relations. If the People's Republic of China does not come to terms with this explanation, I am very sorry, but the Dalai Lama will come.

[Reporter] Mr President, during your imprisonment there were a number of protests held throughout the world, among them a protest by Soviet writers. The weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA even published a statement by the April Club. I can also add that Voznesenskiy published an article in OGONOK in which he recalled phoning you and being happy to hear your voice. It was then somewhat risky. Do you intend to meet Soviet intellectuals during your visit to the Soviet Union, and how do you see in general the development of relations between Soviet and Czechoslovak writers? Do you consider this important? This is the first question. The second is: In your New Year's address...[question interrupted]

[Havel] I do not know how long our visit to the Soviet Union will last. We want to devote maximum time to discussions with Mr Gorbachev. But if I find time I would like to meet with Soviet writers and other intellectuals. I would like to meet Yuriy Luyubimov, who is preparing one of my plays for the Taganka Theater. I am sure we would have many things to discuss. I am also sure we will have time to pay our respects at the tomb of Academician Sakharov.

[Reporter] Mr Baker is to visit Czechoslovakia next week, and you are preparing for your visit to the United States. What do you expect from these visits, and how can the United States help you in building a democratic society and free trade?

[Havel] Our delegation to the United States will be a large one because there are many topics to discuss: Political, economic, cultural and others. The United States can help us a lot economically, but I do not mean their assistance to be in a form of some loans which would get lost in the pit of the state budget, and would result only in debt. Instead I wish that the United States help us with meaningful investments for the benefit of the country. The same applies to the education or studies. At the same time its help should not have the form of some kind of alms to a poor relative; it should be based on the principle of equality. I think that there are also things which we can offer to the United States, though probably it is not economic help we can offer them.

[Anneke Dunka, Vienna ILLUSTRATIVE NEUE ZEIT, in English] I am from Vienna, Mr President, and this is my first question: If you want to be a mediator between Palestine and Israel, then I think that this is a very demanding task and somehow I can sense a messianic element in it. My second question is very short. In Frankfurt you spoke of radiating property of a word, has this creed of yours something to do with the fact that you are a president now...

[Unidentified speaker in English, interrupting] I am sorry, Mr President will answer the first question only.

[Havel] If someone offers help to two countries and to two peoples who have for a great number of years been waging a tragic war, then if this person comes over as a messiah, then the madame editor in question can call us messiahs.

[Zantovsky] Last three questions, if you please. The gentleman here.

[Van Joch, in English] Van Joch, the Netherlands. Congratulations on your achievements. Do you have any special message for the Netherlands?

[Havel] They do not need to return any statues. [laughter] I am looking forward to my visit to the Netherlands. on that occasion I shall be able to say thanks for the Erasmus of Rotterdam Prize, which I received in the Netherlands at a time when no one, least of all me, had any idea of becoming president.

[Sabata] Sabata, MLADA FRONTA. Mr President, you will hold your post for at least 5 months. As you have said, there is plenty of work ahead, but what in particular do you think should be primarily resolved in these 5 months?

[Havel] I have already spoken on this in the Federal Assembly. I see my primary task, within the framework of my authorities and possibilities, as leading this country to free elections. I want this develpment to be peaceful and decent, so that in the election campaign our country will not lose the prestige it won through its peaceful revolution. I would like to enhance this prestige in the world. To this lady I may appear to be a candidate for a redeemer, but I have thought—and I also related this to our national assembly—that all of us are responsible for the state of this world. We owe each other a lot because for many years we did nothing; we were a passive colony, and therefore we must do a little more than is usual. I can see my last presidential task to be returning dignity and prestige to the presidential post. As I also said in Parliament, in the whole office here at the castle served only one member of the Communist Party Presidium, under whose authority the presidential post was only a kind of a sideline to his political post.

[Zantovskiy] The last question for that gentleman over there.

[Reporter, in English] Mr President, I come from Reykjavik, Iceland. have you decided to come to Iceland in February to attend the premiere of your play? I heard that it should be staged at the National Theater. Is this true?

[Havel] Yes, I also heard this. It is not out of the question that during one of our journeys abroad I may have the opportunity to see the premiere in Reykjavik.

[Zantovsky] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much for your attention. I apologize to those of you we did not have time for on this occasion, but we intend to give regular news conferences, so please be patient until the next time. Thank you.

Interior Minister Sacher Holds News Conference

Coup Rumors, Interpol

LD2901183290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference with Interior Minister Richard Sacher on measures to strengthen security was held in Prague today. Above all, in connection with the rumors about possible preparations for a coup, I was interested in knowing whether the interior minister spoke about this, too. That is a question for editor Roman Zamboch in Prague, who was at the news conference:

[Zamboch, in Czech] Yes, he spoke about it. It was the very first question that the interior minister answered, and he had this to say:

[Begin Sacher recording, in Czech] I would like to say that we have indeed noticed some increased activity by those members of the security apparatus whose sections have been abolished. Those people are simply meeting. Sometimes they even take time off and use their annual leave for these meetings. Basically, they are meeting with those people—as the president says—those who like the old order, or as we called them and more to the point, the so-called dark forces who do not like what has happened in our country and who are not fans of these changes. To put the citizens' minds at peace, and to ensure their safety and the safety of these changes, we decided that the law and order forces of public security would be strengthened, as deemed prudent by the chief —no precise number has been set— by troops of the Interior Ministry.

As regards their distinguishing marks—this has already been published in the press—they will have a red-blue-white tricolor on the left side of their jackets. In the Slovak Socialist Republic we will reinforce these units with Czechoslovak People's Army troops, but we have to agree on this with the minister of national defense. [end recording]

[Zamboch] Minister Sacher also said that among the population there are some 113,000 holders of firearm permits who are permitted to carry 134,000 bullet firearms. He said a draft bill that will define the category of persons who have the right to own and carry a weapon will be submitted to deputies of the Federal Assembly. This is why on 2 February the validity of the existing firearm permits ends.

In another part of the press conference I was very interested in the idea of turning the state security into a kind of an establishment protecting the Constitution and also the fact that our entry into Interpol is prevented by the fact that the criminal service is managed by the two republican MInistries of the Interior, and thus there is not a single executive apparatus which is the condition for participation in Interpol. Thus we have to solve this question ourselves first of all.

More on Rumors, Soviet Advisors

LD2901221790 Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—The basis of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry's concept is to prevent the misuse of security units against the people in this country, Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher (People's Party) told a press conference here today.

He said that reports on a planned state coup in Czechoslovakia have not been confirmed but that the Interior Ministry has taken some measures, mainly reinforcement of police units, in order to calm the public. He admitted that the ministry has recently felt increased activity of secret police members who worked in the service providing internal information, which does not exist any more, and who were closely linked with the former Communist Party apparatus, the minister said, emphasizing that these forces, however, have nobody to rely on at present. [sentence as received]

Richard Sacher told journalists that in Czechoslovakia, which has a population of 15 million, there are now several hundred thousand holders of gun-licenses who have more than half a million military and hunting arms at their disposal. In the past, practically all high-ranking functionaries of the Communist Party and state administration up to the district level had the right to possess a weapon. Therefore, the Interior Ministry has decided to annul the validity of gun-licenses as of February 2, the minister stated.

He went on to say that the number of persons working for the Ministry of the Interior has been reduced by a unit which provided so-called internal information. The extent of intelligence service remains the same. Persons who have been released are employed in the building industry, the minister said. He spoke about his intention to set up a commission of experts and laymen attached to the ministry which would control the work of security units and fulfilment of the minister's orders in the future.

Richard Sacher rejected the argument that Soviet advisors are still present at the ministry. He stated that cooperation with the Soviet Ministry of the Interior will be based on the same basis as cooperation with ministries in all other countries, while observing requirements resulting from the membership in the Warsaw Treaty. The minister described Czechoslovakia's admission to Interpol [International Criminal Police Organization] as very desirable mainly in connection with the increasing demands on the drive against drug trafficking on Czechoslovak territory.

Sacher further said that his ministry has been dealing with a draft for a legal regulation on attending to applications for return of Czechoslovak citizenship to emmigrants. So far, the ministry has attended to individual applications. The minister stressed the need for establishing an institute for the protection of the Constitution which would control inter alia the use of information equipment which the ministry has at its disposal. The tapping by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been stopped, the interior minister said, and called for restoration of gendarmes in Czechoslovak villages.

Need for Democratic Order

LD2901231690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report on news conference by Interior Minister Richard Sacher in the Government Presidium building in Prague on 29 January]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Reporter Sedlacek for the Independent Press Center] Mr Minister, are you not concerned about subversive activity by the illegally operating state secret police and about individual terrorist actions on the part of the illegally operating state secret police?

[Sacher] The point is not whether I am concerned or not. I think that it is necessary to create a certain democratic environment which will be respected by the citizens. But if in this environment there is no chaos or disorder, but instead there is organization and order, then there is far less room for the matter mentioned by you in this environment governed by organization and order. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] There were countless questions like this addressed to Dr Richard Sacher, CSSR minister of the interior, at the press conference in the Federal Government Presidium building in Prague today. About 50 Czechoslovak and foreign journalists were most of all interested in the present situation of the security service and in their further activity within the framework of a new conception of the Ministry of the Interior. The present purpose of the so-called Red Berets was also discussed, among other things.

Sacher Responds to Coup Plot Rumors

AU3001085490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Dalibor Macha article: "Provocative Reports on Preparations for a Coup"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)— The following report was broadcast on the Civic Forum program on Czechoslovak Radio Thursday [25 January] evening: "To start with, we have here a report that has been released by the Independent Press Center:

"Reports are coming in from many sides and are being submitted to us as confidential, and which are, therefore, unverifiable. These reports are coming from all possible sources—from all constituent parts of the security forces, lawyers, former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] apparatus, and people from various regions of the republic. All these reports essentially have one thing in common—that an attempt at a coup d'etat is to be carried out at the end of January and beginning of February, involving parts of the security forces, of former People's Militia members, and of the CPCZ apparatus. Czechoslovak People's Army officers, 85 to 86 percent of whom are CPCZ members, would supposedly succeed in preventing the Army from interfering with the coup in the first 12 to 24 hours, which, according to some sources, would be enough to seize power in all cities of the republic. Leaving aside the issue of whether these reports are true, it is evident from them that a considerable part of the public is concerned. Effective steps should be taken that would help deal with the situation that has arisen. For instance, the minister of interior should take a stand on it in the information media."

After this alarming report went on air, we contacted by telephone Richard Sacher, CSSR minister of interior. We asked him for his position and and also put other questions to him. He willingly replied to RUDE PRAVO's questions, even though he was in the midst of official talks which he had to interrupt.

"Yesterday I received about four reports of this kind," the minister said. "I had them verified independently along four different lines to be able to determine their source. All the information which I have received until now does not confirm what these reports claim."

[Macha] Where do these reports come from?

[Sacher] "Look. We all come across a number of reports, the aim of which is to alarm and misinform the public."

[Macha] This is not a provocation then, in your opinion...?

[Sacher] "I do believe that it is a provocation and that its aim is to swell the level of public opinion."

[Macha] Does this mean that we can pacify the public in your name?

[Sacher] "I can say only this much: None of the information which I have obtained, and which I had verified, confirms the rumors."

[Macha] In other words, there is calm in the National Security Corps?

[Sacher] "I can tell you that yesterday I received representatives of the Public Security Corps, who presented to me a letter in which they express absolute support for the Ministry of Interior. People from other departments of the security forces are coming here as well, but citizens will probably not be interested in this because the civic public wants to see the state security corps abolished and does not always see these things objectively. Naturally, I must treat these matters in such a way that, even if only one percent of them were to be true, I must, naturally, take the necessary measures to hold my own before the nation."

[Macha] Could such misinformation serve, for instance, as a pretext for a purge in the security forces?

[Sacher] "There can be a number for pretexts for that. It goes without saying that even this is a possibility."

[Macha] The main reason, in your opinion, is thus the one you have mentioned?

[Sacher] "I think so."

[Macha] Thank you for the conversation.

Federal Assembly Holds Separate Sessions 30 Jan

LD3001121490 Prague CTK in English 1125 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations opened separate session to elect new deputies to both houses, here today.

New deputies will replace those who either resigned their mandates in the last few weeks or were recalled in keeping with the constitutional law on the recall of deputies and election of new deputies, passed last week. Deputies and election of new deputies, passed last week. Deputies were recalled by political parties, mainly the Czechoslovak Communist Party which will have less than a half of its members in the refurbished parliament.

The changes are carried out in accordance with the results of round-table talks of the main Czechoslovak political forces and should ensure that the parliament composition relfects the real proportion of political forces in Czechoslovak today.

Calfa Interviewed by Polish Correspondent

AU2201162590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Wojciech Wasilewski, ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent in Prague; date not given: "Calfa: The New System Is Only Coming Into Being"]

[Text] [Wasilewski] We are having this talk shortly before Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first noncommunist head of a Polish Government, is due to arrive in Czechoslovakia. What are you and your government hoping that the visit will produce?

[Calfa] The question would have been surprising just 2 months ago. However, today we are in sense equals in this field, because our internal situation has fundamentally altered over the past 8 weeks. A noncommunist premier can visit the CSSR, but so can a communist premier. We accept every person who has come to head a government or state as a result of internal developments. We will also endeavor to reach agreement with everyone. Of course, this applies to friendly neighboring states above all.

[Wasilewski] The obstacles and barriers to bilateral cooperation are quite well known. What has to be done for us to overcome them jointly?

[Calfa] Poland's economic problems, like our own, have a common cause: economic development within the framework of CEMA, a strong attachment to the Soviet Union, reliance on Soviet raw materials, the resulting structure of industry, debt, and so on.

So, I think that we should seek to exchange economic experience within our bilateral relations.

[Wasilewski] What is your broader view of future cooperation between our states and peoples?

[Calfa] I would like to begin with an issue that has been widely discussed recently, that is, the idea of closer cooperation or even some kind of union between our countries. I think that in building a common Europe we are trying to eliminate barriers and blocs and not create new ones. Of course, geographically, we are neighbors situated between the USSR and Germany. This factor alone compels us to consider closer cooperation with Poland. We think that the time will come. However, at the present time we are not economically ready to establish some kind of formal association or union.

[Wasilewski] Much is being said about Czechoslovakia's return to Europe. What do you understand by that, and how does the CSSR envisage the return in concrete terms?

[Calfa] Geographically, we are in Central Europe, but politically, like Poland, we were in Eastern Europe. Following the recent internal changes, we have reached agreement about the location. That is the first thing. Second, it is not possible to conceal the fact that our country's historical development was closely linked to Europe— starting with our rulers who were also Holy Roman emperors and ending with our cultural ties with the European peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The iron curtain severed these natural ties in 1948. So, if we are talking about a return to Europe, what we are thinking of is overcoming the effects of this state of affairs that lasted 41 years.

It is understandable that the process will not be easy or rapid. This stems from the entirely different courses of development, their various levels, and so on. Europe is defending itself. It is setting certain conditions, because we are something alien to it. So, we have to do everything possible to ensure that there will be no rejection of us in the future. This entails a lot of economic, political, and cultural actions. One more thing. You are our northern neighbors. You have similar aspirations and wishes. So, there is this field for cooperation opening up.

[Wasilewski] Just before our talk, I learned that you had resigned your membership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Will this impact on the standing of the government of national accord following the similar decisions made by your first deputy, Valtr Komarek, and Vice Premier Vladimir Dlouhy?

[Calfa] It will not. I do not want to talk about the motives for my decision. I would just like to point that numerically it is still the largest party, but it is unable to act because of the course that developments have taken. In addition, the party's tragedy is that it itself does not realize this. It still portrays itself as the vanguard party. If one does not have an influence on changing the character of the party, on modernizing it, and if it itself does not want to change radically—what can one do?

In addition, the reputation of the party has been destroyed by tens, hundreds, perhaps thousands of activists. Although I reject the principle of collective responsibility, it is natural to attribute negative actions to the party, even during the past few weeks. It is a fact that is perhaps regrettable, but understandable.

[Wasilewski] Do you think that domestic political and social conditions in Czechoslovakia will facilitate a painless transition toward a market economy?

[Calfa] Our country's new political system, in light of the June elections, is only coming into being. The distinguishing feature of the system is the absence of a stable picture of the distribution of political forces. This will undoubtedly be reflected in the future parliament. However, the future government will have to have a precise idea of what has to be done and how it has to be done. I think that Czechoslovakia cannot have a government that is the result of the free play of political forces. The state of the economy would simply not permit it. It is not an Italian type of economy that essentially remains unaffected by cabinet changes and crises. Politics should be conducted in the representative organs, whereas the government should be a group of able people who know exactly what they have to do with the economy.

[Wasilewski] How should they act with respect to the economy?

[Calfa] If it is possible to force through this model, it will then become necessary to take up the great and difficult task of reform. We are also learning from our neighbors. We know that we cannot unsettle people's feelings of security and unleash an inflationary spiral. Debts are also an unacceptable path. We think that the right path could be one of opening up the economy, of allowing foreign capital in, which would operate independently. We have received a lot of proposals concerning this from abroad. However, a basic condition is that it would be possible to transfer profits in convertible currency.

[Wasilewski] However, an expansion of the most important branches of your economy based on foreign capital would take place close to our common border....

[Calfa] Unfortunately that would affect you negatively, but that is where the greatest part of our iron and steel and mining industries are located. This leads us on to the subject of Stonava, the Ostrava agglomeration, and a whole range of complex problems, including ecological ones. Some of them seem to be exceptionally awkward. That is why a lot of goodwill, common sense, and thinking will be necessary in order to find a sensible solution, and that applies to both sides.

I think that all problems should be solved on an ongoing basis in private and frequent substantive contact between members of government or heads of governments. That is why I am against great state visits unless the circumstances are exceptional. I can perfectly well imagine that suddenly, if necessary, I get on a plane and then have a talk lasting 2 or 3 hours with Mr Mazowiecki about what concerns us at a particular time. This can achieve a lot more than some propaganda battle that will not lead to anything good.

[Wasilewski] Thank you.

Calfa Discusses Economy, Soviet Withdrawal

AU2801190390 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27-28 Jan 90 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Burkhard Bischof; date and place not given: "Proving to the World That We Are a Central European Country"]

[Text] [Bischof] Mr Premier, after assuming office you said that your most important goals are to reestablish democracy, to prepare free elections, to restructure the national economy, and to ensure political control of the security forces. How far have you come after 2 months in office?

[Calfa] This government has been in office for about 40 days. If I have to characterize now how far we have come, the first thing to mention is the realization that everything is much more complicated than we ever imagined.

The reestablishment of democracy and the preparation of free elections are tasks of the legislative branch. The founding of political parties is already under way; in this process there are no administrative restrictions. However, there are restrictions in terms of time: The newly emerging parties have little time to establish themselves organizationally before the elections in June.

As regards the security organs, a police force is to be developed which really protects the citizens and is there for them. We will not stop until we have reached the goal.

[Bischof] What are the most important tasks of your economic policy in the near future?

[Calfa] We want to impose a number of measures to make it possible for foreign capital to flow into the CSSR, that it is efficient here, and that it can then flow back to the other countries. An investor is to have guarantees that he will realize the profit.

Second, we have to get rid of our dogmas concerning the issue of ownership. Free entrepreneurship is to develop in our country without any restrictions. Therefore, all forms of ownership have to be made equal to each other.

The whole matter results from the insight that the CSSR has an economy that is organized too monopolistically and that we are not able to carry out the economic restructuring alone.

The matter really involves the influx of foreign capital into our economy and not loans or donations. It is always easier to borrow something than to pay it back. Our neighbors have had their experiences with this, and we do not want to repeat those.

[Bischof] Concerning foreign policy: In foreign policy the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the CSSR seems to be a main goal of your government at present. Hungary has already a positive agreement from Moscow on this issue. How long will Prague have to wait?

[Calfa] The main goal of our foreign policy is to prove to the world that the CSSR is a Central European country and not an East European one. But I will not talk about the friendly contacts with all states, about our considerations to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea and Israel, and about he invitation to the Dalai Lama to come to Prague, which has made the PRC very angry.

The existence of the Soviet troops in our country is not a question of European security. Until the year 1968 the question was not posed in this way, even though before that there were far worse tensions in the relations between the two blocs. Nevertheless, nobody thought of stationing certain units in the CSSR to balance the strategic situation.

Our situation is simpler than that of Poland, for instance. Both states, the CSSR and the USSR, have noted that basic norms of bilateral relations were violated by the invasion of these troops.

Whoever says A—that is, a gross violation of the norms—must also say B—how the situation can be remedied again. And we would be very happy if the more than 70,000 Soviet soldiers were to withdraw again, and that by the end of this year.

Even though the Soviets want to withdraw, they argue that one has to take into consideration certain humanitarian things, that there are also the families of the soldiers, and that the children go to school here. First of all, conditions have to be established in the Soviet Union for the resettlement of these masses.

However, this argument of humanitarian considerations does not meet with particular understanding by our citizens. Therefore, we tell the Soviet Union: We do understand that you cannot leave as quickly as you came, but the withdrawal should certainly not take too long.

[Bischof] Can you imagine that within the framework of a disarmament agreement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO a certain contingent of Soviet troops will remain in the country?

[Calfa] In any case, the Soviet troops cannot remain in the country without the agreement of our government, and today the situation in our country is really such that we would certainly have difficulties in explaining the continued presence of Soviet troops to our citizens.

[Bischof] You repeatedly mentioned the necessity that the CSSR participate in the European integration process. What does this mean for you in detail—an apartment in Gorbachev's "European home," membership in the European Free Trade Association or in the EC?

[Calfa] The economic division of Europe was a certain reaction to the political shaping of the continent after the war. In Eastern Europe the CEMA was founded in 1949, in the Western Europe the EC developed. Western Europe came under the beneficial influence of the Marshall Plan.

For strategic reasons Eastern Europe could not feel the beneficial effect. Even though we were the same at the start, we did not receive the same incentive during the race.

Now the situation has changed. In my view, Western Europe has slept through the awakening in Eastern Europe. Is it historically justified to divide Europe into the 12 EC states on the one side and the rest of the states on the other? This gives rise to the basic question of whether the current situation is to continue, which aims at the further integration and strengthening of 12 states and poses certain conditions to others—also to Austria; only if these conditions are fulfilled is membership possible.

It is clear that we are lagging behind economically. But there is the question of how one looks at Turkey or Portugal or Spain, and how one looks at Austria and the CSSR, which are two industrialized states in Central Europe.

I think that one has to see Europe in a comprehensive way. In the same way as the economic shaping and the structure in Eastern Europe is becoming an anachronism. As a reaction to this, the EC too, has to become an anachronism. Because the basis on which the EC was originally founded has practically disappeared.

Thus, one has to look for a third path of European cooperation and community. And one has to look for ways to make this compatible.

[Bischof] You said that your leaving the Communist Party is a personal affair. Your former party colleagues, in particular those in Slovakia, obviously do not want to accept this reason and argue that you got your office as a Communist Party representative as a result of an agreement at the round table.

[Calfa] If one takes such a step, this is naturally interpreted in a different way by different people. The Democratic Forum of the Communists published an open letter, which approves my action.

It is necessary to understand the domestic situation in the CSSR. In the government I am not a representative of the Communist Party. In our country just because a certain party won the elections does not mean that that party chief becomes premier automatically. This will not be the case in the CSSR after the elections in June, either. The leadership of this state needs a group of non-party experts. If politics continue to dominate technical knowledge, we will fall back with our economy even further behind our original starting point.

[Bischof] Do I interpret your statements correctly that at present you are not looking for a new political home?

[Calfa] I am fed up with parties.

Calfa Responds to RUDE PRAVO Questions

AU3001103690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on Premier Marian Calfa's response to questions submitted in written form by RUDE PRAVO staff member Jan Lipavsky: "CSSR Premier Marian Calfa: I Am Not Interested in Uncritical Confidence"]

[Text] Editorial note: We sent our questions to Marian Calfa on 4 January 1990. The replies were delivered to us on 25 January. Subsequently we sent M. Calfa the question referring to his leaving the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

We asked Premier Marian Calfa to reply to the following questions:

[Lipavsky] What do you think is the main thing which your government could do to win the citizens' confidence?

[Calfa] We will conceal nothing from the public—neither the preparation and adoption of government decisions, nor the checking on how these decisions are being implemented. At the same time we must point out the risks connected with every decision. Such risks naturally do exist—all social phenomena are interlinked, and a positive measure in one sphere can lead to negative consequences in other spheres. For instance, although the decision to change the structure of our economy was certainly right from a long-term point of view, it can temporarily have a negative impact on certain individuals or groups of citizens.

[Lipavsky] Did your exit from the CPCZ violate the agreement reached at the roundtable, or not?

[Calfa] The president of our republic entrusted me with the task of forming a new government on the basis of a proposal made by the former Premier, and not on the basis of a mandate issued by the CPCZ or an agreement reached at the roundtable. This fact was only subsequently respected by the roundtable.

In setting up the government, I proceeded from the basic requirement: To form a government capable of accomplishing the extremely difficult tasks which are facing it, but also a government supported by all the political forces. This has been successfully achieved, even without the mathematics of the political parties playing a significant role.

The legacy inherited by the government of national understanding is so complicated and oppressive that it must be disentangled and resolved by a team of experts specializing in the individual spheres of governmental work and operating in absolute harmony, rather than by an ensemble of politicians. From this viewpoint I consider it absolutely imperative to stand above the parties, in order to successfully resolve the matters which concern our people.

[Lipavsky] What are your views on the so-called critical confidence?

[Calfa] I am not interested in a blind, uncritical confidence. It is not a matter of modesty or immodesty. No social phenomenon can be seen in all its aspects, no government decision can be assessed in all its consequences and possible mistakes rectified, without democratic criticism. Our main concern is not to give the government a good name, but to provide for the welfare of our society. As I have already said, confidence should be based on frankness.

[Lipavsky] Do you think that the present composition of your cabinet complies with the public's general demand for expertise and competence? Because, in fact, it is one thing to set up a government and to have it accepted by the parliament; but what if life shows in practice that there are certain weaknesses in the government's activity...? Or are there none?

[Calfa] The expertise and competence primarily lie in morality, in knowledge and experiencee. In this respect the composition of the present governnment is a good foundation for accomplishing the tasks set down in the policy statement. I use the term foundation because we all must constantly learn, particularly in a dynamically changing society. You tell me, is there any human activity without weaknesses? It is difficult to foresee the results of work accomplished by the government of national understanding after only 40 days of its existence. But I am an optimist.

[Lipavsky] You are now faced by an unenviable task—that of an economic reform, the effect or failure of which cannot be foreseen today. From several representatives of the Civic Forum we hear that this difficult surgery on the body of our economy need not cause us any particular social problems; they even claim that we are threatened neither by inflation, nor by unemployment. Others maintain opposite views. Are you as optimistic as the former are?

[Calfa] We can be optimistic about the future to the extent to which we believe in our ability to influence this future. If we will be able to cope with the transition to the methods of market economy as we are planning to cope, we will avoid any striking social shocks. What could make us fail? I believe that a failure could have two causes: First, we could set ourselves unrealistic goals—and we have years of experience in this; in fact, which of all those preceding aims has been fully accomplished? That is why we are not so much concerned about dogmatically insisting on the system, as with creating one which would point out mistakes and restify them in time. The second danger is that we can fail to make the public understand the government's aims, and to win the majority of our people for these aims. One cannot rule against the will of the people. Moreover, we have before us a period of strenuous work on all levels and, I tell you frankly, even a period when certain groups will have to make sacrifices. At the same time we do not want to paint a picture of a rosy future somewhere on the horizon of history. We must help to show the people that their own work is the only path leading to personal and social prosperity.

Let us go back to cooperation between individual government members. Tell us, please, how can you exclude the possibility that disharmony can reign in the cooperation between individual ministers, in view of their different party affiliations and the orientation of their world outlook?

[Calfa] The government members are agreed in their views on the basic tasks of the government of national understanding—on the establishment of provisions for free elections and a radical economic reform. It is only natural that whenever mature, striking personalities meet at the roundtable, they always have quite crystallized views. So far, however, we have always been able to reach a joint conclusion via discussion; and I trust that the same will appply to the future. In these discussions I have never noted any sign indicating the enforcement of narrow party demands.

[Lipavsky] How do you personally understand a political compromise?

[Calfa] For me, a political compromise is an agreement of political forces which can grow solely out of the consciousness of a common goal. All members of the government of national understanding proceed from the conviction that we must do everything to establish a democratic political regime with a prospering economy in our republic. There is no place in the government of national understanding for playing games with the destinies of our people, in an endeavor to achieve a political compromise [politicke kompromisnictvi].

[Lipavsky] One other question: I do not doubt your respect for public opinion; but who conveys it to you, and to what extent does the government follow this public opinion?

[Calfa] An overall idea of the public opinion is the inevitable prerequisite of a successful management of society. Moreover, a politician must feel respect for the people's views. Otherwise he could scarcely retain his self respect. As for myself, my picture of the public's views is the result of my direct contacts with the people, both in my job and outside it; however, it is also shaped by the letters which are sent to me. The revolutionary times in which we live have shortened the distance between the government and the public: during the first 5 weeks in the office of CSSR Premier, I received approximately 1,200 letters with various suggestions, proposals, and complaints. Moreover, I value the sociological public opinion polls, and trust that democracy will also lead to a lively development of this sphere of social studies. Understandably, I also receive summarized reports from a number of bodies engaged in this work.

[Lipavsky] If you were asked about the most important thing for democracy and for overcoming critical phenomena, what would you say it is?

[Calfa] I would say: The development of democratic political culture, the full establishment of institutions of a state built on law, and a favorable international climate. As for the democratic political culture, I wish we would really stop using the method of retributions, of settling accounts, but also of various stigmas, condemnations, and excommunications; on the contrary, do let us try to understand each other and to tolerate different opinions. Surely it cannot be excluded that, with time, it will transpire that precisely the other person's views have been more correct.

[Lipavasky] I thank you for the interview.

CPCZ's Adamec Discusses Democratization

AU3001105290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Statement issued by Ladislav Adamec, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia chairman; date and place not given: "Communists and National Understanding"]

[Text] I consider it necessary to express my personal opinion on an issue which is disturbing the general public and which is the subject of many critical comments reaching the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee from party organs, organizations, and individuals. What is the issue? The issue is anxiety that the endeavor for democratization not be threatened by anything which could lead to political subversion, to economic collapse, and to overall social chaos.

Under conditions such as these, it is difficult to implement people's justified desire for civil liberties, for strict compliance with the law in a state governed according to the rule of law, for existential and social guarantees, for our favorable international status, and for our country's good name.

I am not saying this out of any underhanded intention of gaining time to hang on to old systems and old positions. I am not led into this by an attempt to somehow weaken the radical nature of the corrective measures—measures for which the time is now ripe and which the majority of the population demand. I am only concerned about one thing—to overcome deeply rooted and accumulated social deformations in a truly democratic manner without discrepancies between words and deeds, without repeating the discredited methods of applying pressure and persecuting people for their political views, and without demagogic denunciations and the settling personal scores.

I know that Communists are not alone in referring to these practices. I particularly appreciate criticism of all undemocratic activity by people who do not in the least belong among our supporters. We see evidence in this of widespread possibilities for cooperation with all those for whom democratic conviction is not some kind of opportunistic business or a mere cover for acquiring a monopoly of power. From our own experiences, we are well aware of the fact that every unprincipled policy—sooner or later—always turns against its originators. A gamble on momentary advantage—accompanied by personal wrongdoing and collective injustice—does not bring permanent benefit to any party.

I am also replying in this way to the question on why the CPCZ leadership does not consider it correct to respond in a similar fashion to every unsubstantiated accusation, to mere guesses, and to various half-truths. We will not reduce ourselves to "casting up" their old utterances on our political opponents and by doing so, attempting to cast doubts on their current points of view.

Various disclosures—perhaps not without reason—are being made about the danger of turning the election campaign into an arena of struggle for deputies' seats where everything is permitted and where every resource is a good one. We do not take these cautionary words lightly. At the same time, however, we do not believe we are powerless against this. We are convinced that it is within the powers of the country's most important political forces to prevent this democratically and in time—by means of publicly declared and publicly controlled agreements. This is in the common interest of everyone because the people's awareness and high level of education is the guarantee that they will support such a concept for an election campaign. We believe that our offer will gain a response—our offer to cooperate with all those who are capable and willing to compete within the morality of their policy and not in the art of politicking.

We Communists are faced with the urgent task of looking honestly at our history, of realistically evaluating its place in society, of constructively outlining our intentions, and of being active participants in the nationwide endeavor for our country's prosperity. Since its extraordinary congress, our party has already proceeded toward fulfilling this task with absolute responsibility.

Despite this, the party is still the object of criticism and a number of serious accusations are targeted against it. It is necessary to reckon with this. As a matter of fact, it was possible to envisage bitter attacks against the party and against individual members. These result from aroused emotions and from the grave errors and deformations that occurred in the past.

I think we have a right to demand trust in the integrity of our intentions and in the irreversibility of the practical steps toward parting from everything bad in the past. However, a reproachful and biased position is not appropriate. We must also understand those who approach our actions with mixed feelings. However, I am worried that behind the wave of criticism of the Communist Party there is not concealed an attempt to cast off everything positive in our post-war development, everything that it would be possible to resume. It is impossible to overlook instances of settling personal scores and discrimination against Communists because they are party members. At the same time, they are often attacked by people who have neither aptitude or expertise behind them—nor the majority of people—and who do not represent the majority's will but who, by means of various manipulations and pressure, are merely trying to satisfy their own personal ambition.

In recent weeks, it has been officially stated on more than one occasion that the fundamental criterion for judging people—apart from their moral and personal qualities—should be their efficiency and ability. We have such people in the party; we want them to remain in it and to have an opportunity to execute their ability as much as possible for society's benefit.

Ideas about the administrative-bureaucratic method of managing enterprises had little in common with scientific socialism. Yes, the expression "more democracy" in production means, first and foremost, an increase in the role of elected self-administrative organs. While implementing democratic principles in managing the national economy, however, strict organizational, technical, and technological discipline is applied to the production process itself. This can only be guaranteed by the firm, decisive, capable, and stable management of enterprises. These recognized principles for the scientific organization of labor have become an element of economic reform which evolved from the initiative and with the support of many Communists in central organs, scientific and research institutes, and the manufacturing enterprises themselves. In the interest of justice, no one should forget these indisputable facts.

Working collectives in enterprises and in cooperatives should not be divided by their political views or party affiliation, but, on the contrary, they should consolidate their joint interests. CPCZ primary organizations are departing from enterprises for these reasons. I repeat, the issue is not whether someone is a Communist or not. The time has passed when a party card was a passport to a senior position regardless of ability or the result of work. However, the time should not come when, in this respect, a CPCZ membership card is an insurmountable barrier or handicap.

Casting unjustified and willful doubts upon the specialist qualities and competence of people occupying leading posts carries the risk of doing great damage. Of course, this is not a protest against the transfer of people who are not competent in their position and who are demonstrably at fault for poor work results. The necessary amount of people's trust is also part of a manager's authority. But creating scope for individuals' caprices and for the biased political labeling of people—although contrary to previous labeling—generates an atmosphere of fear, existential uncertainty, anxiety about decision-making, and a reduction in demands made on people in the working process.

The threat of the collapse of the management system as a consequence of various thoughtless interventions into the running of enterprises and plants is particularly dangerous under conditions of the transfer to a market economy. All the more so since the unrestrained method of carrying out these changes does not provide the guarantee that there will be a real improvement in the quality of management and that new people will enjoy greater trust among the working collectives. It is impossible to underestimate social losses incurred from not making use of capable people's qualifications. Our party has condemned as an element of Stalinism and as inhumane, unjust, and morally unacceptable the method of universal political purges. This was "justified" several times in recent years by the abnormality of the situation as something extraordinary and temporary. This was mostly carried out on the margin of legality, no one wanted to officially acknowledge or bear responsibility for such acts, and people below were accused of individual excesses. Why do I mention these well known facts? In order to point out the dangers of habitually making use of such practice for its ease, convenience, and speed. This is at direct variance with the material and spiritual interests of the whole of our society.

I repeat, not everything in the past was bad. We have honestly admitted our mistakes and we are parting from them. Today, Communists need more self-awareness and courage. The overwhelming majority of them worked and conducted themselves honorably and do not have to be ashamed of their lives. We are honestly building the foundations of our contribution to the policy of national understanding—a policy in which there should be no difference between words and deeds—on this fact.

Civic Forum Spokesman Assesses Elections

PM2301140890 Paris LIBERATION in French 17 Jan 90 p 24

[Interview with Petr Pithart, head of the Czechoslovak Civic Forum Coordination Committee, by Pierre and Michel Fleischmann—date and place not given]

[Text] [LIBERATION] How do you assess the Communist Party's ability to react today?

[Pithart] The grass roots is collapsing and members are handing in their cards. But this does not mean that the intermediate levels, in the enterprises and administrative departments, are affected. The whole structure is bad. You could put the most competent people in the world into those positions and they would work badly. The forthcoming elections aim to guarantee change. There will essentially be two blocs: on the one hand, the Communists; on the other hand the Civic Forum, and small groups within it. Many of those groups will have to make do with one or two seats in parliament. Some of them have a future, like the Democratic Party in Slovakia or the Christian Democrats. But 2 or 3 months is not enough to enable prominent figures to emerge. Those groups will then have 4 years in which to become real parties.

[LIBERATION] How do you explain the ease with which the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] abandoned its positions?

[Pithart] First, the CPCZ no longer behaved like a political party, but like a structure. It lost the idealistic grass roots which it had after 1968 and the people who joined it only did so out of self-interest. That was even true at the top, where it would be difficult to find Marxists and idealists.

It was the State Security forces which enabled the system to survive. They are now going to ground and we have no idea how many members they have. Nobody knows how they are organized. There have been 15 reports on the subject, but Prime Minister Marian Calfa admitted that he did not understand it despite the years he spent in government. He probably does not understand it because he is afraid of showing interest in it.

We will have to try to unravel all the ramifications of the State Security forces. Civic Forum has brought together a few experts, but they are people who worked in it approximately 20 years ago. However, they are the only experts which Interior Minister Richard Sacher has. It is possible to dismantle the State Security forces—we have done so—but this does not mean that its members will go home quietly. Those people will take advantage of our slightest mistake; they will wait patiently for a change in the Soviet Union. Those whose hands are dirty, in particular, will defend themselves to the end. The interior minister, who is a Christian—an unthinkable thing in this part of Europe—has a very difficult task.

[LIBERATION] What do you think is the main danger in the current process?

[Pithart] It is Civic Forum's excessive power, and its problems in establishing a structure and defining what line to take. The main danger is, in a way, our own stupidity which might prompt us to overestimate our abilities and behave rashly because of the ease with which everything happened. But, for the time being, I must admit that the prevalent feeling is one of responsibility.

Unfortunately, we have lost our best people who have gone into government and into parliament. There are only a few good minds left in the Forum. The Forum is not a party. From the start everything in it has been an incredible improvisation and there is an unstable balance based on understanding and personal feelings. This is the result of a dissident political culture which formed a competent political elite over the past 20 years. We can therefore now see a new and entirely unprecedented political culture emerging in the framework of which people with very different feelings cohabit. This culture is something of a miracle. In one of his speeches, Havel suggested that it could be our contribution to Europe.

[LIBERATION] Do you think that society has a clear idea of how democratic institutions work?

[Pithart] No, it has a vague idea of that. What it does have is a sense of moderation and courtesy, humor and an ability to improvise. These last two qualities, which it demonstrated even in difficult situations, are among the last virtues which the nation has maintained over the decades. But people do not know how a democracy works. I recently heard of a meeting at which people spent 5 hours voting on how they would vote when the real meeting began.

[LIBERATION] What do you think is the most important law adopted so far? What will the next decisive document be?

[Pithart] The elimination of the article in the Constitution which mentions the party's leadership role must come first. But in fact that amounted to ratifying an existing state of affairs. The next important step will be the Assembly's adoption of laws governing the functioning of political parties. For the time being, there is no rule on the creation or funding of parties. It is enough for them to state their existence for them to be able to start functioning.

[LIBERATION] In most East European countries, the USSR's role in the processes which have started is recognized. In Czechoslovakia, one sometimes has the impression that the USSR does not exist.

[Pithart] It is true that in his New Year's speech, Havel spoke about all our neighbors and that the USSR was noticeable by its absence. But we can think that that was not deliberate. What we need is for our foreign policy to protect us from the repercussions of any change in the USSR to ensure that it affects us as little as possible. But, you have to look at the position of Jiri Dienstbier (a prominent Charter 77 member who is now foreign minister— LIBERATION editor's note) in the foreign ministry. He is alone there with two or three people and, under him, there are approximately 2,000 civil servants who both fear and hate him.

[LIBERATION] How do you view your role in the Civic Forum?

[Pithart] I came here by accident 5 or 6 days after the Forum was set up. At first, there was such a crush here that it put me off. I then became involved with a group which was drafting a program. They asked me to help them. A few days later I was part of all the delegations and all the negotiations. Then when Havel, whose name had been mentioned for president, realized that he had to move away from the Forum, he asked me to take over. My job has no name: I am not a spokesman, or chairman, or general secretary.... I sit in this room and people come to see me. I feel as if I have caught my foot in a drain and can no longer move. I do not mean that the Forum is a drain, but I feel trapped in it. It is not a comfortable position, but it is limited and will only last until the elections. My friends often ask me what I have done to deserve this....

Report on 18 Jan Government Session Decisions

AU2301085990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Jan 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Weakening of Central Decisionmaking; The CSSR Government Adopted Some Interesting Decisions Yesterday"]

[Text] Prague— Among the most interesting decisions adopted at the plenary meeting of the CSSR Government yesterday is the shortening of military service for university graduates and the abolition of central limitations to admission of students to universities. Of symbolic significance is the decision to immediately halt deliveries of Tatra 613 limousines to the state sector. This decision arose from a discussion held outside the set agenda of the session.

The CSSR Government carried out an adjustment of some tasks set out in the November resolution on the state plan for 1990. The obligation of socialist organizations to compile reports on ensuring the implementation of the state plan was abolished. Several mandatory indicators are being changed in informative ones. This concerns, for example, the number of students admitted into the first university year. Scope is thereby being created for independent decisionmaking by individual universities, depending on their potential capacity.

The government discussed supplies of fuel and heating oil to the national economy this year, with special emphasis on its first quarter. At the same time, it laid down tasks for a conceptual solution in the production sphere and in foreign trade, so that regular supplies to the national economy and the public in the forthcoming period are not disrupted.

Furthermore, the government took note of the first set of measures which marks the Czechoslovak economy's reaction to the creation of the single internal market of the European communities. The concept of the CSSR's approach to European integration is to be speedily worked out. This concept will be submitted to the government by its Economic Council. A more specific framework for the CSSR's qualitatively new relations with the European communities will be established in a general agreement on trade, economic, scientific-technical, and other forms of cooperation.

The government discussed rules for the financial management of insurance companies. These rules proceed from the principle that insurance companies operate like state enterprises. At the same time the rules lay down, to the necessary degree, the specifics of their financial management.

The CSSR Government decided to restore diplomatic relations with the Holy See at the embassy level. These relations ceased in the years 1949-50. They had been suspended, but not severed.

University students will welcome the CSSR Government's decision to cut basic military service for them from 12 to 9 months.

At the same time the government ruled that university graduates doing their military service at the time this decision comes into effect can be released from military service after 9 months of service and all other soldiers after 18 months of service, if they are married, if their fitness for the performance of military service is substantially impaired, or if this is warranted by serious social or family reasons.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 19 January on page 2 carries a 300-word "lh"-signed report on the 18 January Government session and a subsequent news conference with Zbynek Fiala, the government's new press spokesman. Fiala is quoted as having said that the cut in the military service "will reduce the number of soldiers by 30,000 by August 1990."]

Honecker, Others To Be Charged With Treason

LD2901162390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittage, and Joachim Herrmann are to be charged with high treason before the Supreme Court in March. The State Prosecutor's Office is concentrating its investigations on this, Dr Hans-Juergen Joseph, GDR state prosecutor-general announced in the People's Chamber in Berlin on Monday.

The main trial will be followed by further proceedings against Stoph, Kleiber, Krolikowski, Sindermann, Axen, Kessler, and Schuerer. Proceedings are also being prepared against "state accomplices," such as Junker, Martini, Kleinert, and Wolf. Charges will soon be brought against the former Christian Social Union Chairman Gerald Goetting.

Prior to this, the state prosecutor-general announced that 23 investigations for disloyalty and abuse of trust are under way at the national level, and 212 others at the bezirk and kreis level. According to Joseph, seven criminal cases were awaiting trial by 26 January. Charges will be brought in at least 69 more proceedings in February. These include the charges against former Free German Trade Union Federation Chairman Harry Tisch. In some bezirks, charges currently are being prepared against the first secretaries of their Socialist Unity Party executives.

Modrow Favors Considering Honecker Reprieve

LD2901172190 Hamburg DPA in German 1610 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow feels that after the trial of former state and party leader Erich Honecker, who was arrested today, a reprieve or exemption from prison should be considered in a well-disposed way. Modrow told the Cologne EXPRESS newspaper that the arrest is regarded in widely different ways by people. "Some have a too simple feeling of revenge, while others were viewing Honecker's case in a level-headed way, Modrow said. [no closing quote as received] He hopes people from the church and also people outside the GDR will comment on the Honecker case and that lawyers will find the courage to state a clear position on the arrest.

Demonstrations Throughout Country 29 Jan

100,000 in Leipzig

LD2901183590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1757 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Following peace prayers in churches in Leipzig, around 100,000 local people have again gathered in the Karl Marx Platz after 1800 for the traditional Monday demonstration. "No one will vote Socialist Unity Party of Germany" and "Germany United Fatherland " were the predominant slogans chanted and carried on banners.

At a rally backed by the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, the New Forum, and the Social Democratic Party, there was a unanimous rejection of all right and left-wing radicalism.

'Brief Scuffles' in Leipzig

LD2901202990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1940 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] At the rally involving around 100,000 participants there was a clear rejection of any form of right- or left-wing radicalism. [passage omitted]

After the rally the long demonstration parade moved off around the inner ring road. [passage omitted] There were chants calling for severe punishment for former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Honecker and other former party and state functionaries.

On the fringes of the demonstration, which broke up peacefully at about 1945, there were brief scuffles when demonstrators wearing masks tried to prevent the distribution of publicity material by supporters of the "Republicans".

'Several Hundred' in Berlin

LD2901184390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several hundred Berliners gathered on the Alexanderplatz for the first Berlin Monday demonstration of this year. The rally planned a week ago was cancelled because of technical difficulties. At the beginning of the rally a spokesman for the organizing citizens' committee "Berlin Monday Demonstration" appealed for no provocations. Speakers from various parties and movements gave information on the aims and programs of their organizations. There were calls on placards for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism to give up all positions of power.

Not far away, some citizens gathered for a counter-demonstration in order to express their opinion against the efforts for reunification.

85,000 in Karl-Marx-Stadt

LD2901205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2021 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Black, red, and gold flags and green and white flags [of Saxony] dominated the scene at today's rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt, which was followed by a march through the city center. According to the organizers, the Democratic Opposition Platform, around 85,000 people from the city and surrounding region took part.

Many banners carried the message "Never vote SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] again, or Saxony will be empty of people" or "Vote SED and you vote mass flight." There were many banners with the message "Unity, Justice and Freedom, Germany united Fatherland." [passage omitted]

100,000 in Dresden

LD2901221890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2123 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—Almost 100,000 people have taken part in a demonstration in Dresden this evening. Two demands were made on thousands of banners and in chants: For a united Germany and outlawing the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] and the former SED power apparatus. [passage omitted]

SED-PDS Ban, Reunification Urged

LD2901223490

[Editorial Report] East Berlin ADN International Service in German on 29 January carries a number of reports on demonstrations throughout the GDR.

At 1816 GMT, in a Neubrandenburg-datelined report, ADN reports: "Around 1,000, predominantly young, Neubrandenburg citizens demonstrated on Monday for changes in the country, especially those that would benefit the younger generation. Alongside black, red, and gold flags without the state emblem, slogans were carried which pointed out the lack of perspective for young people in the country. Karin Lueck of New Forum remembered the mass exodus from Free German Youth and spoke in favor of young people deciding for themselves what they needed."

At 1838 GMT, ADN, in a Schwein-datelined report, notes "topics such as the social market economy and trade unions dominated the Monday demonstration in Schwerin. At a rally in the Alter Garten, New Forum representatives declared their support for new economic forms, but expressed strong doubts that the Free German Trade Union Federation could be the true representative of the workers' interests. They demanded factory committees and new individual trade unions. They demanded clear concepts from factory management for the upcoming months and statements on job security."

At 1841 GMT, in a Halle-datelined story, ADN reports: "The SPD [Social Democratic Party] marched at the head of the kilometer-long demonstration procession at the Monday rally in Halle. At the rally on the Hansaring, its representative appealed, to the applause of thousands, for democracy to now be forced through in all areas of life.

"Other speakers dealt with the dissolution of the Ministry for State Security and the national education situation. Demonstrators with placards demanded the banning of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS].

"The largest banner showed the outline of a united Germany with the borders which arose following the World War II. There were isolated chants of 'Germany for the Germans!'".

At 1908 GMT, in a Cottbus-datelined story, ADN reports: "In Cottbus this evening several thousand local people followed New Forum's call for a demonstration under the slogan 'German unity? When and how?' through the center of the city. The participants carried black, red, and gold flags and banners with the message 'Germany united Fatherland', a slogan they also chanted. "Outside the SED-PDS Executive Building they protested against the 40-year power monopoly of the party, chanting 'Down with the SED.'

"At a rally outside the Evengelical Oberkirche, a New Forum representative pointed out that unification could only take place with the agreement of neighbors in the East and West, and could not be the means for solving the economic crisis. Speakers were repeatedly interrupted with calls for immediate reunification."

At 2035 GMT, in a Magdeburg-datelined story, ADN reports: "Thousands of Magdeburg citizens took to the streets on Monday evening after the prayer for Social renewal in the Cathedral, under the motto 'Security of Labor'. The New Forum, the SPD [Social Democratic Party], Democratic Awakening, Democracy Now, the Catholic Coordinating Group, and the Cathedral Discussion Group had issued an appeal for the demonstration to be in favor of new, vital objectives and for fears for the future to be overcome.

"They demanded representation of employees' interests in the factories and establishments, independent trade unions, the working out of a law on a factory constitution, as well as the social cushioning of unemployment and a development of pensions. Numerous demonstrators carried black, red, gold flags and banners with slogans such as 'Germany united Fatherland'.

Maleuda Proposes Election Bill Agenda

LD2901175390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1431 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following a debate, People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda proposed publishing the bill for the election law on Tuesday [30 January] and conducting a public debate on the subject on 18 February. The proposals would then be summarized by the responsible ad hoc committee. Also, necessary legislative preparations for the bill should be made by the responsible organs.

The 15th session of the People's Chamber on 5 February could deal with the formation of a government of national responsibility, make a decision on dissolving the 9th legislative period and on calling elections for the People's Chamber, and hold the first reading of the electoral law for the local elections on 6 May. The 17th session of the People's Chamber on 20-21 February would then hold the second reading, adopt the electoral law, and make the necessary constitutional changes.

On the application of a speaker from the Christian Democratic Union parliamentary group it has already been agreed that proportional representation will apply in the People's Chamber elections. The proposals by President Maleuda were approved.

Parties Endorse Modrow Plan for Early Elections

LD2901155990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Spokesman of the 10 groups in the GDR People's Chamber voted almost unanimously in favor of the proposal put forward by premier Hans Modrow together with the Roundtable that the People's Chamber elections should be brought forward to 18 March. They confirmed the assessment of the situation in the GDR given by the premier. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Roundtable Meeting

To Address People's Chamber

LD2901121190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1106 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Owing to a change in the standing orders of the GDR People's Chamber, the representatives of the new parties and movements participating in the roundtable have been allowed to address the deputies for the first time today. Dr Wolfgang Ullmann and Konrad Weiss, from Democracy Now, and Tatjana Boehme, from the Independent Women's Association, will present the point of view of those parties and movements not represented in the parliament on the draft laws on People's Chamber elections and a change to the Constitution, as well as on the resolution submitted on freedom of opinion, information, and the media.

After starting its consultations again, the plenum first of all dealt with changes in mandates. Among other things, previous Minister of Finance Uta Nickel (Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism), was released from her office. The Leipzig Prosecutor's Office has instigated investigative proceedings into Nickel in connection with her earlier work in the bezirk council. A number of deputies resigned from their mandates and were replaced.

Statement on Rule of Law Adopted

LD2901185890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Against a background of increasing threats of violence by neo-Nazi forces in the GDR, the 10th roundtable adopted a "Statement on Democracy and Rule of Law" in Berlin today, on which the participants had reached agreement with Prime Minister Modrow yesterday. It stresses that calm, objectivity, and nonviolence are necessary for the preparation and holding of parliamentary elections 18 March. The roundtable participants have given an assurance that they respect human dignity and speak against any use of force against persons and property. Every citizen has the right to a secure, peaceful, and protected life in society.

The statement says that to safeguard the rule of law and the security partnership with the People's Police it is expected that legally allowed means will be used with all rigor against possible acts of violence. The country's political forces support the police's work.

Referring to a talk in the GDR Interior Ministry, Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur said that in connection with the announced actions of extreme right-wing forces planned for 30 January, the FRG Interior Ministry has given assurance of close cooperation to prevent violence.

SPD Nominates Minister Without Portfolio

LD2901175890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] in the GDR has nominated 61-year-old Walter Romber as future minister without portfolio in the Hans Modrow government. This was announced in Berlin today at the 10th session of the roundtable. [passage omitted]

Romberg Defends SPD Place in Cabinet

LD3001110290 Hamburg DPA in German 1015 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] [no dateline as received] GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] politician Walter Romberg has defended his party's entry in the cabinet of Prime Minister Hans Modrow (Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism) by pointing to the crisis in the GDR. In an interview with SAARLAENDISCHER RUNDFUNK, Romberg said on Tuesday that the objective of the government reshuffle was to ensure the viability of the Modrow government in the coming weeks. "It can be expected that the clashes during the election campaign will exacerbate many tensions," he said.

Romberg rejected criticism from the smaller parties that they had been disadvantaged by the earlier elections. Admitting that they were no doubt in a difficult situation he nevertheless point out that they had failed to carry out a sufficient integration process. "In this respect the SPD has steered a clear way right from the start," he said.

German Reunification Party Formed

LD2901125790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1154 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The German Reunification Party (DWP) was formed on 13 January 1990 in Berlin as a DWP-East area association and has now been authorized by the Council of Ministers. Frank Schwerin, spokesman for the DWP executive, briefed ADN about this today. A document about the party's goals says that the DWP was formed "in order to make a democratically established instrument available to the voters in East and West Germany in order to personify the German desire for reunification, which up to now has only been expressed in a confused way or as public opinion". [passage omitted]

New Forum's Henrich on Situation, Future Steps

AU2801174990 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Jan 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with New Forum's Rolf Henrich by Hans-Hermann Tiedje, Peter Bartels, Heiner Bremer, Peter Brinkmann, and Lothar Schindlbeck in Hamburg; date not given: "Immediately a Joint Environmental Ministry"]

[Text] [BILD] There are still 100 days left until the elections on 6 May. Every day 2,000 GDR citizens leave the country. How can the exodus be stopped?

[Henrich] There is little that gives the people hope. The old structures and the old apparatus of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] are still functioning.

[BILD] What will Germany look like within 1 year?

[Henrich] We will have a currency union or we will be on the point of having one. What the people want is real money.

[BILD] What should be done first in the economy?

[Henrich] A large part of the coming investments, which will be possible as a result of the loans amounting to billions, should immediately go to the medium-sized enterprises. Dynamism must be freed in this sector. BILD: Are you in favor of free, social market economy?

[Henrich] After 40 years of "real existing socialism" we all should be in favor of a market economy without if's or buts's. But it must be ecologically oriented. And there must be social compatibility.

[BILD] Which concrete first steps should then be taken after the elections on 6 May?

[Henrich] For instance, there should be a joint environmental ministry and joint steps toward disarmament. Nobody is preventing the Germans from drastically reducing their armies and their terms of service. If Mr Bahr believes that unity can come only after the dissolution of the military blocs, this is counterproductive. Instead, the governments of the two German states should urge the withdrawal of the Red Army from the GDR and of the Western troops from the FRG. Statements like the ones by Egon Bahr make millions leave the GDR.

[BILD] Could there soon be a common state president?

[Henrich] I would think this would be good. Weizsaecker is very popular in the GDR, too. But also Professor Kurt Masur (director of the Gewandhaus Orchestra, Leipzig—the editors) could be president.

[BILD] Will there still be two German states in 12 months time?

[Henrich] The question is not whether there will be one state or not. The question is how much state we will then still have. I think that within 12 months in the GDR the old laender of Saxony, Thuringia, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Saxony-Anhalt will exist again. It is also my hope that then there will be strong communities.

[BILD] Thus, you favor a federative state?

[Henrich] This would be the ideal solution.

[BILD] With the capital city of Berlin?

[Henrich] Yes, of course. Weimar would not be bad, either, and I would prefer it over Bonn anyway.

[BILD] Is the State Security Service [Stasi] still a danger?

[Henrich] I assume that the dissolution of the Office has been bogged down.

[BILD] How powerful do you think the Stasi apparatus still is?

[Henrich] It still exists and it is still dangerous. With 85,000 the Stasi was a real army. And people who are highly organized are always dangerous when they are pushed to the margin. There are still too many in the offices. The Stasi had many young people in its ranks, which do not let themselves be retired today or tomorrow. Thus, we have to make sure that every single Stasi man is retrained as quickly as possible and is integrated into the work process. We should give a sign of reconciliation. You can eliminate hatred only through love.

[BILD] Is it correct to leave a man like Krenz without work and to put the politicians' old guard on trial?

[Henrich] It is never correct to hold trials in order to set an example. If the individual did not commit a crime, there must not be a trial, no criminal proceedings for propaganda reasons. Krenz, too, has a right to work. For instance, as a hotel director.

[BILD] How much time do you give SED chief Gregor Gysi and his SED?

[Henrich] Does this party actually still exist? I wonder why Gysi continues with this job. He is increasingly becoming a tragic figure.

[BILD] And where does Mr Berghofer stand for you?

[Henrich] He has impressed me very much and has gained my favor. I can certainly imagine Mr Berghofer as premier of a new land of Saxony.

[BILD] What will be the elections result?

[Henrich] Social Democratic Party will receive about 30 percent, the alliance of Christian Democratic Union of Germany, Democratic Awakening, and German Social Union about 20 percent; we, the "New Forum," between 15 and 20 percent; and the SED between 7 and 11 percent. The rest will be distributed to the other parties.

[BILD] Why is the Berlin Wall not completely leveled?

[Henrich] I also want this. I consider the new metal mesh fence useless.

New Forum Winds Up National Conference

Debates German Reunification

LD2801131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1224 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—After a controversial and emotional debate, the delegates of the national conference of New Forum, at their morning session in Berlin on Sunday, have still not agreed on a cohesive program statement. [passage omitted]

As part of the program statement, the question of German unity was totally revised. New Forum affirms the German nation's unity and considers the peaceful revolution in the GDR to be a contribution to more democracy in a future Germany. The efforts of the citizens' movement to achiev a new unity are not seen as an obstacle but, in their striving for demilitarization, as an engine for European unification. Actual democratic self-determination in the GDR is a precondition for German unity. After its realization, a referendum on this issue should be held in both German states. The rapprochement of the two German states should take place within the existing frontiers and with due regard to the neighboring states' security interests. "We reject a special German path which leads to membership in NATO." [passage omitted]

Details of Program Noted

LD2801215590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In the programmatic statement adopted at its founding congress, New Forum lays down that it aims as a citizens' movement to be a political platform for all citizens who strive, independent of parties, for a consistent and grass-roots oriented democratization. This citizens' movement backs a "radical disarmament and demilitarization of society, a new solidarity-based world economic order without further indebtedness, without cultural and ecological destruction of the countries of the Third World; it backs the responsible use of science and technology while preserving the environment and considering the effects on man."

Democracy requires free elections but means, above all, everyday behavior. "We want a solidarity-based society which lives on the self-determination and tolerance of its citizens, which ensures justice and pluralism. New Forum will practice this approach and promote it through its political work in society." From such considerations and in order to avoid new rigidity, the citizens' movement plans to field its own candidates at local and People's Chamber elections.

In its program, New Forum calls for a market economy with as much market as necessary and as much social security as needed. In addition, the tying in of ecological concerns to all economic processes should be secured and shared participation for employees guaranteed. The citizens' movement also backs the right to work, the right to a place to live, equal opportunity in education, the protection of the socially vulnerable, and the right to health and social care. "For this it is necessary to develop the social net parallel to the economy."

In its program, New Forum describes the creation of a treaty-bound economic and monetary union with the FRG, rapid rapprochement with and the prospect of membership in the EC, and extensive investment from all of Western Europe, North America, and Japan as the sole realistic way to overcome the GDR's deep crisis. [passage omitted]

Constituent Congress Ends

LD2801195190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Republic's Council of Spokespersons, confirmed at the end of New Forum's constituent assembly, will have one representative each of every GDR area (bezirk). In order to be able to actually support New Forum's policy it was decided that this Council would meet once a week. For the day-to-day work a body will be set up which will also advise New Forum representatives at the roundtable. Also appointed was an arbitration committee which consists of five members. The election congress of New Forum will take place in early March at the latest in order to decide on the citizens' movement's election program.

The discussion about the draft statute was markedly different from all the preceding discussions of the congress due to its brevity and speedy unanimity. [passage omitted]

SED-PDS Chairman Gysi Cancels U.S. Trip

LD2901172290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today, Gregor Gysi, chairman of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism], canceled his trip to the United States planned for 30 January-1 February. The SED-PDS press spokesman, speaking to ADN, said the cancellation was due to the new domestic political situation and the urgent activities involved in the accelerated renewal of the party and its preparation for the election campaign.

The numerous invitations from politicians, institutions, and representatives of the economy, on which the trip was based, are to be taken up at a later date, if possible. The hosts are asked to be understanding.

Talks on Israeli Ties Open in Copenhagen

LD2901162790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Diplomats from the GDR and Israel met in Copenhagen on Monday for talks on the normalization of relations between their states. They were also to discuss questions relating to compensation for the crimes committed against Jewish citizens during the time of fascism.

The delegations were led by Michael Shiloh, an expert in the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and Rainer Neumann, department head at the GDR Foreign Ministry.

These direct contacts came about after GDR politicians recently expressed their interest in normalizing relations with Israel, Israeli Ambassador to Denmark Amos Ganor announced. The GDR and Israel have never maintained diplomatic relations.

Gysi Says German Unification 'Unstoppable'

LD2901171990 Hamburg DPA in German 1627 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The process of the unification of both German states is, in the words of the leader of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] in the GDR, Gregor Gysi, now unstoppable. In an interview in BILD-ZEITUNG he adds that it is however, irresponsible to act now, as if this is possible tomorrow. [as received] "What is happening now is too fast and chaotic as far as I am concerned," Gysi said. Unification is a question of the European framework. The conditions for this are improving all the time as a result of the developments in Eastern Europe.

In the words of the SED politician, the FRG has the task of helping to stabilize the GDR situation. Unity would bring the collapse of the social services system in the FRG. Also, legal questions are completely unsolved. The people who are still moving to the FRG belong to three groups: "The first group is fearful of chaos. The second thinks unification is coming quickly, but is going to the FRG now so as to be already integrated. The third group is probably going for social reasons."

* Marshall Plan for GDR Advocated in West

90EN0209Z Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on conversation with Christa Thoben, member of the CDU Presidium and chairwoman of the CDU Committee on Economic Affairs, by Norbert Middeke; date and place not given: "Aid and Cooperation Will Come to Nothing Without a Rejection of the Planned Economy System"]

[Text] Christa Thoben, CDU [Christian Democratic Union] economics expert, member of the CDU Presidium, and chairwoman of the CDU Committee on Economic Affairs, in a conversation with HANDELSBLATT, has advocated "a kind of Marshall Plan for the GDR economy, something like a new European Recovery Program special fund for the East." Mrs. Thoben, who is also the vice chairwoman of the CDU faction in North Rhine-Westphalia under the leadership of Norbert Bluem, and who will become head of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Muenster at the expiration of the current legislative period, said that the basic prerequisite for the establishment of such a special fund would "of course be a genuine willingness to reform on the part of the GDR."

The politician proved to be deeply concerned over the tendencies within the "new" SED [Socialist Unity Party] in East Berlin to maintain the old infrastructure of party monopoly and to prevent the process of partisan political pluralization in the other part of Germany prior to the elections to the People's Chamber on 6 May. Mrs. Thoben recommended both to her party and to the Federal Government that it be made unmistakably clear to those presently governing the GDR that a return—in whatever form—to socialist power and planned economy structures would torpedo successful cooperation between the two German states and would thwart all the initial efforts at economic cooperation as well. The politician stressed that not everything would be accomplished in the GDR in this regard by the 6 May People's Chamber elections alone. Non-manipulated municipal elections must definitely become a part of genuine reform and democratic-pluralist restructuring in the GDR, because it is precisely at the grassroots level that still-entrenched remnants of the bankrupt SED regime remain.

Mrs. Thoben expounded on her proposal of a special fund for the East by noting that such an institution would eliminate from the outset accusations that "the GDR is being sold out to the Federal Republic." To wit, the fund would be administered by representatives of both German states, and could even be further internationalized by the inclusion of EC resources. "In the process," according to Mrs. Thoben, "the problem of the excess money supply in the GDR must be eliminated."

This would probably be best accomplished by the establishment of a GDR central bank independent of the government and the installation of a system in which GDR citizens could acquire ownership interests in nationalized enterprises (VEB's), thus absorbing excess monies. In tandem with this, the prevailing price system in the GDR must not just be patched up, it must be restructured step by step from the ground up.

Mrs. Thoben emphasized: "In the first place it is a matter of a centrally administered and planned economy becoming a free, socially just, market economy. There are no models for the current phase of this transition." Mrs. Thoben was sympathetic with the concerns expressed, particularly by the small- and mid-sized economic enterprises in the Federal Republic who are willing to cooperate—and by those in the GDR as well—that there are only halfhearted reforms in the direction of decentralization, the independence of enterprises, and the formation of private property underway in the GDR. The politician stated that "there will not be a second German economic miracle with hybrid forms between a planned economy and a market economy."

In this regard Mrs. Thoben accused the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], both at the national level and in North Rhine-Westphalia—for all its willingness to help the GDR—of paying too much attention to the grumblings about alleged "patronization, intervention, and sellout," and of evading the prospects of reunification within a European framework. Kohl made it unmistakably clear with his 10-Point Plan that there will be no German go-it-alone effort which does not take the interests of neighbors in East and West into account. "Naturally, it pains the SPD that we clearly have public opinion leadership on this issue," Mrs. Thoben said.

The politician emphatically advocated a total democratic restructuring of the CDU in the GDR. It can only become a sister-party to the CDU in the Federal Republic if it breaks with all vestiges of its former existence as a bloc party under the primacy of the SED—including personnel. The CDU, at the national level and in the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia, gives all relevant forces working for restructuring in the East-CDU its moral and material support.

In addition to the print media in this country, the public broadcasting corporations in the Federal Republic in particular could make a valuable contribution to democratization in the GDR, in Mrs. Thoben's opinion. "At least twice a week ARD (Working Group of Public Broadcasting Institutions in the FRG/First German Television Network) and ZDF (Second German Television Network) should broadcast informational programs explaining how our system functions, what freedom of the press is, what freedom of trade means, how the social safety net, the market, the banks, and the stock market function—and above all, what the separation of governmental powers looks like, how limitations on power are imposed in a constitutional state, and how our parties are structured."

This does not mean a high-handed dishing-out of civics lessons, says Mrs. Thoben, but genuine assistance to the people over there in obtaining information and making decisions. In addition, she energetically advocated setting up a functioning telephone system in the GDR as quickly as possible: "For without multiple means of communication, nothing is successful in the democratic-pluralist state and in a free-market economy," the politician said in conclusion.

* Western Aid to Bloc States Advocated

90EN0210A Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 11 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on a conversation with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of the East Committee of the German Economy, by "ay"; date not given: "The Joint Venture Law Is Not Useful in This Form"]

[Text] Cologne—In view of the intense interest in the economic opportunities in the East bloc, it cannot be ruled out that countries which to date have been the recipients of German developmental assistance—the Third World—will lag behind, in the opinion of Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of the East Committee of the German Economy. In a discussion with HANDELSBLATT, Otto Wolff pointed out that cooperative efforts with the East—and thus assistance to immediate neighbors—will "automatically" enjoy precedence. The fears of representatives of the Third World that developmental assistance could be "redirected" toward the East bloc are, in Wolff's view, not entirely unfounded. While these fears are certainly not justified as far as public developmental assistance is concerned, they cannot be discounted in the case of private enterprise investments. Wolff views entrepreneurial cooperation with East bloc enterprises from the perspective of economic policy, but also as a way to lessen the huge difference in the standard of living.

The prosperity gap between the countries of Eastern Europe and their Western European neighbors has troubled him for a long time. It was evident to him that this ever widening gap would necessarily lead to tensions between East and West, quite apart from the tensions between the two power blocs. The socialist system is totally unable to narrow the gap—the CSSR, in the 1950's still the "Golden West in the Eastern bloc," is the best proof of this. "Still, the Eastern bloc countries are our immediate neighbors. Helping them seems to me to be a priority. Charity begins at home for me." The reactions of those with whom he has spoken thus far have shown that "assistance for our neighbor to the east is of greater concern to them than, let us say, Namibia."

Christa Luft, the GDR minister for finance and prices, will have to go a lot further in her economic policy than has been demonstrated thus far: "Increasing flexibility and further liberalization" are necessary, according to Wolff. Apparently there is a lot of resistance in the GDR's bureaucracy to such a course, but on the other hand there are "lots of noble tears for the old centralism and socialism." Wolff particularly criticized the East Berlin draft of a joint venture law. The insistence on state enterprises and thus the exclusion of GDR private firms as partners in joint ventures with Western companies is not a useful precondition for cooperation. As far as the German economy is concerned, there cannot be only state enterprises, and participation must "go beyond 49 percent."

The goal of economic policy should be to restore the competitiveness of GDR firms on the world market: "If they do not become competitive soon, they will not make any progress." In Wolff's opinion, hardly any of the GDR firms are competitive with their products—even the "showcase firms" such as Zeiss, Ifa, and Robotron are only competitive in exceptional cases. After all, the GDR economy has achieved "export successes" primarily on the market in the Federal Republic—but in neither "quantity nor quality." Even one of the more successful GDR industrial branches, machine construction, has really only been the subject of much hype, and its delivery times are much too long.

One of the potentional obstacles for the GDR economy could be the present enterprise structure. In order to make the GDR economy competitive, it might also be necessary to break up the large GDR combines and thus establish more "workable units" in this way. Wolff did not exclude the possibility that a level of unemployment hitherto unknown in the GDR might also occur within the framework of the necessary restructuring.

Wolff considers the term "sellout of the GDR" to be inaccurate. "Of course German companies are interested in business with the GDR. Their main goal, however, is to perfect their position on the domestic market, since they must make sure that they will still be competitive after 1993." Rather, Wolff sees some sort of antitrust law in the GDR as imperative for the introduction of market economy principles: Domination of the small and mid-sized GDR firms by the large ones must be prevented.

Much more rapidly than is frequently speculated—that is to say, within a period of five to 10 years—the GDR could close much of the gap with the Federal Republic—if suitable preconditions exist.

Premier Hans Modrow Visits Austria

Signs Agreement on Travel

LD2601131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—"Within the next few days" the visa requirement for travel between Austria and the GDR will be lifted. Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky told the press in Vienna after a talk with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow that agreement has been reached in principle to lift the visa requirement for a provisional period of 3 months on a mutual basis. This temporary ruling will be replaced by a treaty that is still being negotiated.

It was further announced that GDR Foreign Minster Fischer and Austrian Interior Minister Loeschnak are to set the precise date for the implementation of the transitional ruling.

Modrow Meets Industrialists

LD2601162890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1430 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Vienna (ADN)—Austria and the GDR have, in the opinion of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, started a qualitatively new stage of cooperation. After more than 2 hours of talks with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow in Vienna, Vranitzky told the press of the start of a "treaty-based community" in the areas of protection of investments, double taxation, radiation protection, medical and hospital treatement, and much more. He reasserted his government's intention to support without delay the processes of reform in the GDR and other Eastern European states with specific projects.

The GDR premier, who arrived this morning for a 1-day working visit to Vienna, called his meeting with Vranitzky "good and succesful." Since the visit by the Austrian chancellor to Berlin in November of last year, a "very busy time" had passed in the area of bilateral cooperation, Modrow said. The GDR is resolved to create the prerequisites "for a new quality of collaboration" by democratic changes. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, Prime Minister Modrow held talks at the Federal Chamber of Commerce and Industry on deepening economic relations between the GDR and Austria. During the talks, both sides put forward comprehensive lists with proposals for joint ventures by enterprises from both countries. Taking part in the talks from the Austrian side were Chamber President Rudolf Sallinger, as well as the director generals of VOEST-Alpine Maschinen-und Anlagenbau Holding, Othmar Puehringer; of Maschinenfabrik Andritz, Ludwig Pfeiffer-Lissa; and of Waagner-Biro, Ernst Tutschek and the Laenderbank, Gerhard Wagner. Present from the GDR side were Foreign Trade Minister Beil and Tourism Minister Bruno Benthien.

On the GDR prime minister's itinerary for this afternoon is a courtesy call on President Kurt Waldheim. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer intends to hold talks with his Austrian opposite number, Alois Mock. [passage omitted]

News Conference

LD2601160190 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1505 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—According to Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, the GDR is an "important trading partner" for Austria. After meeting with GDR Premier Hans Modrow, Vranitzky told journalists that Austrian enterprises have a great and increasing interest in the establishment of joint companies and cooperation in third markets. Vranitzky offered to support the GDR in its efforts to join international organizations. He had invited senior GDR representatives to the OECD meeting in Vienna in March. In this connection, he also mentioned the European Council and EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

Asked about his views on a "speedy German reunification," the federal chancellor said that he was not worried about unification because "at the end of the millenium and after all the experiences that have made this century in Europe, one should be able to have the expectation, hope, and confidence that the fruitless, catastrophic developments that we have already experienced, which violated human rights, will not recur." People should have learned enough and advanced their democracies far enough for this.

Asked about unification of the GDR and the FRG, Prime Minister Hans Modrow said that the future of both German states lay in the "European development process." Only the future can show whether the treaty-based community planned by Berlin and Bonn would lead "to a process of confederation in the European house." In this connection, Modrow spoke against FRG parties "now wanting to begin their election work on GDR territory." Each person should prepare for the elections in his own country. One could not speak of free and equal elections in the GDR if intervention from without took the shape it had at present.

In response to questions from journalists about the demand, made several times in the past few days, that he should suspend his membership of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism], Modrow said that as prime minister of the GDR he was solely responsible to the people. He pointed out that the SED-PDS is not the old party but is becoming a party of democratic socialism. Modrow showed himself to be unsatisfied with the progress of the reform processes in the GDR. Both German states should undertake efforts jointly so that GDR citizens remain in their homeland. With reference to the forthcoming coalition negotiations, he said that different standpoints on this question were being expressed and he did not wish to preempt the negotiations. The withdrawal of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] ministers from the government was a sign of the seriousness of the party. It wanted to make clear that the CDU offices are open for all new parties and groupings.

Modrow Meets Waldheim, Mock

LD2601171290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—Kurt Waldheim, federal president of the Republic of Austria, received GDR Premier Hans Modrow and members of the GDR delegation in his office in Vienna this afternoon. During the courtesy visit, the two politicians exchanged memories of a joint visit to the Moritzburg castle.

Alois Mock and Oskar Fischer, the foreign ministers of the two countries, discussed ways of further expanding bilateral relations. After the meeting, Oskar Fischer stated to ADN that the two sides have decided to further intensify political talks, and economic and scientific-technological relations. In connection with the lifting of the obligation to have a visa, Oskar Fischer said that other measures also facing them that would promote tourism, such as exemption for motor vehicle tax, would be settled as soon as possible. Social and medical problems involved with tourism also would be "wrapped up" soon. The foreign minister concluded by saying: "We assess the bilateral relations as good. What we plan to do will be even better."

Departure Noted

LD2601174690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Vienna (ADN)—In the afternoon, the GDR premier conducted talks in the Federal Chamber of Commerce and Industry on deepening bilateral economic relations. [passage omitted]

GDR Premier Hans Modrow ended his 1-day working visit to the Republic of Austria this evening. Shortly before his return flight, he summed up to ADN at Vienna-Schwechat Airport that it had been an intensive and tightly packed program. The meetings with Federal Chancellor Vranitzky, Federal President Waldheim, and leading representatives of the economy had shown that the relations between the GDR and Austria had reached a good level. Important agreements that promoted economic relations and served the development of tourism had been concluded, despite the shortness of the time. "All in all, a strenuous but I believe a useful day," Modrow said. He was traveling home totally satisified.

Further Reportage on Visit

WA2901134690

For further reportage on the visit by Premier Hans Modrow to Austria, including reports on his talks with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Economics Chamber President Rudolf Sallinger, and his meeting with President Kurt Waldheim, please see the Austria section of the 29 January West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Parties Reveal Pre-Election Political Views

LD2901155790

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 24 January begins carrying the first of a series of 5-minute party political broadcasts on behalf of the various parties contesting the National Assembly elections to be held on 25 March 1990.

At this time the Hungarian Health Party has its 5-minute program slot. An unidentified spokesman on behalf of the party explains that the Hungarian Health party has been founded so that a force should appear in the political arena whose primary task is to offer political representation of problems related to health. The health condition of the Hungarian people is approaching the threshold of catastrophe; however, action to counter this can only be successful if it is premeditated, thoroughly grounded, and level-headed. He describes the factors leading to the poor health of Hungarians, which include overwork, tension, drinking, smoking, overeating, and lack of physical activity. Moreover, the water and the air are polluted.

What does the Health Party offer? Its goals is to see that state responsibility for Hungarians' health is maintained with the provision that this is divided between the state, the communities, and the people. Basic health and hospital provisions should remain a citizens' right, and the state should continue to fulfil the social welfare tasks it has undertaken up to now. The Health Party's program is not directed against anyone; it serves everyone's interest.

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0620 GMT on 24 January carries a 5-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Laszlo Udvarhelyi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Secretariat, who is also directing the MSZMP'S election campaign, says his party is interested in a decent election contest, where there is no obscuring the real issue, which is whether in the March elections a further step will be taken toward restoring capitalism and the dictatorship of money, or whether the people's true wish for a policy based on exercising the people's democratic power, will be achieved. The MSZMP wants to win over the people not through base accusations or personal squabbling, but by means of its program and message. This program is based on the basic pillars of the slogans of work, livelihood, freedom, and security.

The party does not agree with a demagogic rejection of the past 4 decades, yet it feels that these years should be subjected to objective criticism, and that social conditions should be created which prevent the replacement in power of old cliques with new ones. It does not agree with those who, under the pretext of development, want to go back to historical periods and who want to force on the country Hungarian and foreign financiers, together with the political forces which serve them. The MSZMP envisages unavoidable structural change and a solution of the economic problems on the basis of the predominant role of communal property. The MSZMP does not agree with inflation and bringing about structural change through increasing unemployment.

Udvarhelyi expounds on how the MSZMP is a renewed party created not by a bureaucratic elite which wants to salvage power, but put back on its feet and renewed by its own members. The leaders, who are young and mainly from the countryside, were elected by the members through serious debate; the organizational statutes preclude a return of the former buraucratic, elitist party practice.

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1130 GMT ON 24 January carries a 5-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

After a catchy signature tune, an unidentified spokesman says that the time has come when Hungary can be liberated once and for all from the Communists, and it can lay the foundations for freedom and prosperity. The SZDSZ has been founded by democratic opposition members who for years have been in pursuit of this moment, of free elections. Free newspapers such as BESZELO have proclaimed that the dictatorship must be abolished, the economy must be liberated, and Hungary must join the circulatory system of the West.

One of the SZDSZ' goals is to carry through, without compromise, the system-change. The SZDSZ believes that it should be possible for the people to possess what is theirs; there should be real property in industry and agriculture. The people should be able to enjoy the fruit of their work, they should be able to have free trade unions.

"There should be freedom for the religions and national minorities in Transylvania and in Felvidek [in southern Slovakia], just as within our borders. There should be a Europe free of foreign troops, where the citizens of other countries are cordially welcomed guests, and the borders of the countries are merely drawings on a map."

In the remainder of his appeal, much of which is inaudible, the speaker calls on the listeners to support the SZDSZ. The appeal is followed by another song.

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 25 January carries a 5-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Union of Christian Democrats [Kereszteny Demokratak Szovetsege]. An unidentified spokesman outlines the international background of the Union's endeavors, noting that Christian Democracy is one of the greatest political forces in the world.

The Christian Democratic movements throughout the world represent the idea of human freedom and solidarity between the peoples. They believe in free market economies, but want to create a system which provides well-being and economic security not only for the clever few, but for everyone. The Christian Democratic parties reject force, as well as right-wing and left-wing extremism. These are also the aspirations of the Hungarian Christian Democrats.

The Union of Christian Democrats has been created to help overcome the divided nature of the Christian Democrats in Hungary. It has concluded an election agreement with the National Smallholders Party; it is hoped that shortly there will be closer cooperation between the two parties and that they can create an election alliance. It is hoped that other political parties and movements will meet the call to join the alliance. The union aspires for the widest possible joining of forces, since it knows that the Hungarians have had enough of many small parties. The Union of Christian Democrats wants the Hungarian people to finally take possession of the country, its own homeland. It wants a peaceful transition to a system in which the will of the people is asserted genuinely and everywhere.

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1825 GMT on 25 January carries a 5-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Association of Hungarian Non-Party Members [Magyarorszagi Partonkivueliek Egyesulete]. An unidentified spokesman begins by saying that Hungarians are equal only in their having been swindled and exploited, in their passiveness and fear, and in their demand for democracy. Hungary is now learning democracy, yet the impoverished Hungarian people are paying the tuition fees for this. He goes on to explain that his association is a voluntary organization which does not ask for membership dues and which represents people who, out of various considerations, do not belong to any party. His association condemns the parties who in the past year have uninhibitedly reached into the pot of goodies, and used money from the state's till to the tune of 15-22 million forints. Now they are again getting money. The poor Hungarian people call on them to pay back the millions they have obtained. For there to be clean elections the participants must begin with clean hands. The association is even willing to collect signatures to hold a referendum on this.

The association does not wish to become a party because it has had experience in this. Instead, it wishes to remain an association, openly and freely, even as an opposition force. It wants to partake in building a clean democracy, independent of party battles, by fighting for the people's interests if this is demanded by the people. The spokesman concludes by appealing for the people to join their ranks and help their election campaign. Music is played at the beginning and end of the broadcast.

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 26 January carries a 5-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. After a musical interlude, an unidentified announcer says: "The Socialist Party greets its listeners." A second announcer says: "Rezso Nyers, chairman of the MSZP, is in the studio. We are talking to him and he is answering our questions. Those whom the MSZP wants to address first of all are already at work or on the way to work. Whose party is the Socialist Party?"

Nyers: "I must say it is not only the party of its members and sympathizers but the party of the whole people. It seeks to represent the interests of the workers in the workshops, on the land, at their desks, at the shop counters; in the sense that it is the party of the people."

First presenter: "There is much talk about the family nowadays, but much less about the mothers exerting themselves for the security of their family."

Nyers: "More should be said about this, at the elections, too. The family is a living and lively community, its security is a priority national interest, and the family's most important binding force is the mother. One of the positive results of the developments in Hungary, in my view, is that the importance of the man as the head of the family has faded and the mother, in society's view, has also became the head of the family. In this capacity, as head of the family, the role of mothers must be strengthened, their situation in the household improved, as well as their conditions of work and in every area of life in society."

Second presenter: "In this country everything, indeed, must be started again. In vain did we work for decades, if necessary in second jobs and in the evening on private plots. Was all this really in vain?"

Nyers: "It was not all in vain. Let us just look around the country: the nation gained, a significant part of the families gained, the majority. We are better known in Europe than before. Our culture, economy, and products reach further parts and they are better appreciated. It is true that in many areas what we started 30 or 40 years ago became obsolete. We must improve this radically and energetically. But the nation lived, the nation developed, and we must carry on. As for the state of the economy and the system of institutions of political democracy, fundamental and large scale changes are needed."

After a musical interlude, Nyers continues: "The Socialist Party is fighting for the construction of a total democratic order in the Hungarian Republic, for the establishment of a spirit of democracy, for a well-functioning, high-performance economy. In order for our holiday to express the country's Constitution we think 15 March should be our national holiday [anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian revolution], 23 October should be honored as the day of the republic—a holiday. Finally, I am asking our listeners who are electors to support the Socialist Party in nominating candidates in every electoral district."

The second presenter thanks the listeners for their attention. The broadcast concludes with a short musical piece.

Carried on Budapest TV

LD2901232590

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian on 29 January carries three 5-minute party political broadcasts on behalf of the various parties contesting the National Assembly elections to be held 25 March 1990.

At 1905 GMT the Hungarian People's Party has its 5-minute program slot. A verbally unidenified candidate for County Szabolcz-Szatmar-Bereg talks about the 51 year-old party's historical past and lists the writers who have been and are its members.

Another speaker is from County Tolna. She talks abut the three slogans of peoples' movements over the past centuries: independence, freedom, and brotherhood. Personally, she is motivated by fear for the future, for her children's happiness, and concern for peace. The Hungarian People's Party, she says, wants a self-governing Hungary, people's rule not with tanks, and not even with banks, but with the values of our culture and those values which the working man creates.

At 1910 GMT the Ferenc Muennich Society begins its party political broadcast with a verbally unnamed spokesman claiming that while the political power struggle is growing, critical economic and social policy issues are left unattended, even by the government, which has no excuse.

He says the unfettered market is a 19th century myth and is now completely out-of-date. Workers do not want the sale of enterprises far below their real value. He warns against extremes, supports free elections, and calls for a policy that ensures a decent subsistence level for workers, pensioners, and young people. Finally, he offers on behalf of his party, a readiness to form a coalition with all forces of progress on the Left.

At 2015 GMT the Entrepreneurs' Party begins its 5-minute party political broadcast. An unidentified party representative says the party wants to give a new impetus to Hungary's economic life, whereby the standard of living, the purchasing power, of every citizen would improve. The party wants to bring about a new awareness, to see the country emerge from the 40-year frost of distorted economic policies, the false paths, which have wasted the talents of the young intelligentsia. The Entrepreneurs' Party wants to bring about a break with the monetarist, restrictive economic policies; it has worked out a detailed tax and credit system; it aims to struggle against inflation and unemployment, for the prosperity of future generations.

Gyula Horn Nominated as MSZP Candidate

LD3001091690 Budapest MTI in English 0819 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)—In the wake of a grassroot initiative, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has received an appropriate number of nomination cards for becoming a candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] in a Somogy county constituency in the March elections.

Addressing a HSP press conference in Kaposvar on Monday. Mr Horn expressed the conviction that a democratic, law-governed state was inconceivable without the new left-wing playing a role. Those who wish to blame the Socialist Party for all the errors and crimes committed in the past forty years forget that it was the only left-wing force in Eastern Europe which started to dismantle the state party from inside. It is a national rather than party interest that the previous monopoly of power should not be replaced by another monopoly of power, Mr Horn said.

Discussing foreign policy issues, Mr Horn said that the majority of opposition forces met the recent diplomatic steps with recognition. The events in Hungary are still followed with keen interest and sympathy abroad but the extreme manifestations made in the internal political clashes may deteriorate the country's international prestige and chances of support, Mr Horn said.

The HSP seeks to nominate Mr Horn on the partys regional list as well. The foreign minister will accept the nomination if it is approved by the HSP national Presidium, too.

MSZMP Outlines Electoral Platform

LD3001112890 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest. January 30 (MTI)—"After analysing the problems of Hungarian Society;" the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) [MSZMP] is to fight the election campaign using the following key words: "job security, proper livelihood, freedom, security."

The HSWP calls upon the Hungarian people "to preserve what was achieved through common hard work in the past 45 years," HSWP President Gyula Thurmer told a Zalaegerszeg rally which launched the party's electoral campaign on Monday.

The HSWP is stressing the need to strengthen public security, law and order, and social stability, and seeks to protect "those who served honestly in the armed forces, the Army, the Ministry of the Interior, and the local councils, and the company managers who are exposed to persecution today," Mr Thurmer said.

"The sort of society the HSWP would like to see is one based on a majority of social property," Mr Thurmer said. The party advocates that everyone should have a job. The minimum wage should be at least 5,000 forints, and wages should fall in line with price hikes. The party aims at preserving the cooperative farms.

"To remedy, at least partly, the serious grievances of the elderly, the HSWP proposes fixing a minimum and maximum pension. In an effort to ease the situation of young people, the party proposes setting up a housing management fund independent of the financial administration," Mr Thurmer said.

MTI Statement on Election Ethics Code

LD2501233190 Budapest MTI in English 1920 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian news agency has issued the following statement via the National Press Service:

"Meeting the requirements set to a national news agency, the Hungarian news agency commits itself to completly put into practice in its work the provisions of the code of election ethics. It does so in the awareness that the mass media are bearing extremely great responsibilty for the purity of elections and, in turn, for the promotion of peaceful transition.

"Shouldering this responsibility, the Hungarian news agency—on the basis of its electoral working programme coordinated with the parties—intends to provide objective, authentic information on the elections, in keeping with the law, the code of ethics, the principles of unbiased information and the professional standard of news agency work.

Army Commander on Claims of Abuses, Cheating

AU2601090890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jan 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian People's Army, by Peter Vajda; date and place not given: "Is There Cheating in the Army?—Waiting for A Committee Report"]

[Text] It was said at the latest session of the National Assembly's Defense Committee that in order to achieve good results, abuses and cheating continue to be practiced in the Army. Is that true?—we asked Kalman Lorincz.

[Lorincz] There can be officers in our Army, as in every Army in the world, who want to present their own achievements in a better light by drilling in advance particular things they expect to be the subject of inspection. We strictly punish all those whom we catch following such practices. However, one who knows the Army's present-day modern shooting ranges, ranges where random computer programs direct the targets and the order of their appearance, is also aware that it is simply impossible to "cheat" such installations. As a result of the increasing modernization of training methods, a normative evaluation of achievements is increasingly used, that is, we are evaluating these results on the basis of real data, rather than data that can be "retouched." I must also say that the thousands of officers and warrant officers who carry out their work in a self-sacrificing and honest way, without consideration for working hours, consider these generalized claims to be offensive. So do I.

[Vajda] In your view, do such things affect professional soldiers' mood?

[Lorincz] Professional soldiers are the backbone of our Army. Questioning the honesty of their work, especially now that we have increasing financial and social problems similar to those of most of our society, could diminish their self-confidence. I myself witness such complaints day by day. However, the Hungarian Republic's Armed Forces must be clean, and they need self-confidence.

[Vajda] You mentioned purity and honesty. Do you think that the aforementioned control committee's report will also contain such qualifications?

[Lorincz] I hope and I am confident that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the committee will express the difference between the old and the current People's Army. Besides, although we do not want to hasten the activity of the parliamentary committee led by deputy Erno Raffay, it is in the interest of all soldiers of our People's Army that this investigation be concluded as soon as possible.

[Vajda] What kind of support did the Army give to investigating the claims of Bokor's book? Do you think that you succeeded in remaining objective?

[Lorincz] I can say that, as early as 27 November, the defense minister submitted a large dossier to the premier, and this dossier is at the disposal of the deputies in parliament.

[Vajda] If it is not secret, what does this dossier contain?

[Lorincz] It contains a report on the Army's situation, reacts to every specific claim that appeared in that book, and its appendix also contains a study written on the Kaszopuszta game reservation affair, a study prepared for the Defense Ministry by independent university experts in 1988. We hope that, with the coming conclusion of this investigating committee's activity, we will have the opportunity to inform the public about the report's content in detail. A delayed investigation and a crisis of confidence in the Army could also endanger the successful implementation of the reform in the Armed Forces.

Transcaucasia Seen as Gorbachev 'Acid Test'

AU2901143490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Acid Test"]

[Text] A civil war is going on in Transcaucasia, and the press editor is shocked when reading his own titles: The Soviet Army has marched into Baku.... But Baku is the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, and arms used to be deployed in order to pacify colonies. However, facts are stubborn things and do not adjust to ideologies, and we have known for a long time that the tensions prevailing in the huge country that spreads over two continents are threatening to break. This is the first time that it seems that the break-up of the Soviet Union is not merely an invention of those who desire such a disintegration....

For the time being, the civil war conditions represent the acid test in Baku. Our first thought could be nothing else but sympathy toward those who perished—we do not know how many they are—and those who are suffering. We cannot accept the old "wisdom" that if you chop wood you will also have wood shavings. While we are aware that, by deploying troops, the Soviet leadership has tried to prevent incomparably greater bloodshed and thus it did what was inevitable. We would like to see an end to the bloodshed as soon as possible. Our humanism and respect for human life, which are peculiarities of our civilization, dictate this to us.

Our second thought is connected with this: There is no military solution to the tragedy in the Caucasus, or if there is, it is only a very short-term solution. There is a need for a political solution that can only be based on the revision of the current practice. Everything that was previously called the "Leninist- Stalinist" and later the "Leninist" nationalities policy has become bankrupt. The creation of a federation is now on the agenda, but not only muses but also legislators have a difficult task when guns are rattling. In any case, Mikhail Gorbachev understands that the Union should be maintained, but it should also be placed on totally new foundations: This is case of to be or not to be for the Soviet Union. However, the contradiction of this historic task explains the fact that many observers misinterpret when they accuse Gorbachev of being "two-faced." Gorbachev resembles a driver who has to simultaneously watch for what comes beyond the distant hills, and what appears within breaking distance. This is no easy task even if the vehicle is in perfect order and the road is straight, smooth, and visible. However, we know what this road is actually like.

Are restructuring, Mikhail Gorbachev, and global security threatened? The answer to the first two questions is increasingly affirmative day by day. Today, the Soviet Union is unable to genuinely deal with the advancement of restructuring because what is at stake now is holding the state together. However, time is running out.... The fact that the shops are empty and the guns are rattling cannot be without effect on Gorbachev's political future: The ship is moving under cloudy skies and on stormy waters toward an uncertain future. At the same time, it is clear that Gorbachev has concentrated huge power in his hands, and probably he will be the one to carry out a "course-correction" if such a correction ever takes place.

As for the third question, of course, there is no threat to peace, and the references to "Sarajevo" that can also be frequently found in our press are based on elements foreign to history. Nobody wants war, and nobody is interested in the Soviet Union's disintegration either. At the same time, a change in the peace order is inevitable. A new and more stable peace order can be based on nothing but equality among nations, justice, and equity. We hope this will prevail when—hopefully soon—we can say goodbye to the weapons of January in Transcaucasia....

Army Chief of Staff on Vienna Disarmament Talks

AU2401212190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army, by Peter Vajda; date and place not given: "The Chief of Staff Gives Interview to NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, who participated in the international seminar held within the framework of the Vienna disarmament talks this week, answered our correspondent's questions.

[Vajda] In your view, what is the sense and importance of such meetings?

[Borsits] This is the first time that such a meeting of military representatives of 35 countries has taken place, so this in itself is an important thing. First of all, we had an opportunity to exchange first-hand information on military doctrines. Second, I had the opportunity to express our position concerning the Hungarian Republic's military doctrine. Third, a whole series of personal meetings was also able to take place on this occasion.

[Vajda] What did you say in connection with the Hungarian military doctrine?

[Borsits] Among other things, I said that in our renewed military doctrine we consider strengthening the national character to be of utmost importance. This is an organic part of the reform process currently under way in Hungary. The political changes that have taken place so far, particularly the upcoming elections, exclude the acceptance of the argument which, like in previous decades, determines Hungary's vulnerability or our alliance concepts on an ideological basis. I also said that, although our long-term wish is to see a Europe free of military blocs, we are still planning our defense tasks within the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, we regard a thorough reform of our alliance as necessary, and we encourage this, primarily the democratization and modernization of domestic relations and decision mechanisms.

[Vajda] What questions did your colleagues ask you, and what questions did my colleagues ask you at the news conferences?

[Borsits] The military leaders asked many questions concerning our doctrine's defensive character. I told them that, looking at it from the political perspective, it is essential that we no longer have an image of an enemy, formulated on an ideological basis. From a technical viewpoint, it is important that we eliminate, for example, 50 percent of our land missiles, 47 percent of our tanks, and 40 percent of our artillery and fighter airplanes from our People's Army. As to the questions asked by journalists, the French journalists wanted to know whether the present Hungarian defense policy concept resembled the French one, which is based on defense from every direction. My answer to this question was affirmative. Our task is to secure and defend the Hungarian Republic's borders from all directions and to halt and drive out any attacking force. I was also asked many questions on whether we had coordinated our sensational initiatives (the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the "open-sky" Canadian-Hungarian military flight) with others. My answer was that all these were independent Hungarian initiatives.

[Vajda] What issues did you discuss during your bilateral meetings with other chiefs of staff?

[Borsits] I asked Soviet Chief of Staff General Moyseyev to start negotiations on the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary in Budapest this very month. The general promised to convey the request. During my talks with General Powell, chairman of the joint committee of U.S. chiefs of staff, we positively evaluated the lecture tour of U.S. officers in Hungary, which will soon be followed by a similar tour of Hungarian officers in the United States. During my talks with the French chief of staff, among other things, we discussed the joint proposal we made at the Vienna talks and cooperation in military instruction, something that has been going on successfully for years....

[Vajda] Do you expect similar cooperation with other Western countries, perhaps also NATO countries?

[Borsits] This is also very possible.

[Vajda] Is it also possible for Hungarian officers to go on to study in these countries' schools and academies?

[Borsits] There are not concrete plans for this yet, but we cannot exclude the possibility that there will be such plans later, on a mutual basis, and provided the financial side of such cooperation is guaranteed.

Karpati on Military Aid to Romania

LD1401215890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by unidentified reporter on "The Week" program—date and place not given]

[Text] [Announcer] To be sure, you are well aware from numerous reports that during the most dramatic days of the Romanian revolution, the Hungarian Army provided much assistance to the Romanian Army, and thereby to all of Romania. In the interview which follows with the defense minister, you can get an approximate overall view of the method and scale of Hungarian military assistance:

[Reporter] You are the only defense minister in past years who, in the end, led the Hungarian People's Army, if not all of it then at least part of it, into battle, during the past weeks. The Hungarian People's Army was also involved in the small details of the Romanian revolution.

[Karpati] I should like to say immediately at the beginning: Let us not take part in a larger battle. Only in this manner should we interpret the battle. However, without doubt this past period contained certain grave military questions. What was the most grave one? It was, properly speaking, what happened before Timisoara—that was very exciting.

[Reporter] The days before the explosion?

[Karpati] That is so. Days, weeks. At that time, already, we had to pay great attention, properly speaking, to this neighboring country, which was described by one of our acquaintances as being like a stretched bow which could snap at any moment.

[Reporter] Days before 22 December, that is, the day the revolution broke out, (?there were numerous signs that)—and this was not gossip, but could be called a report—the Romanian Army had advanced at the Hungarian border. To my best knowledge, the report originated from the Defense Ministry.

[Karpati] To be quite precise, we were convinced that Romania had two armies positioned in Hungary's direction, that they were in a condition and state of preparedness so as to lead us to know that they were not preparing to attack Hungary.

[Reporter] So it did not even occur to you that the issue at hand might be a possible attack on Hungary.

[Karpati] It was necessary for a great many things to go through my mind. This, too, had to go through my mind when we experienced the bloodshed in Timisoara—that there should be no provocation, let us say, toward us, which could have created an entirely different situation.

[Reporter] Was it Hungarian military reconnaissance, intelligence which ascertained the Romanian Army's advance, or did we perhaps receive information on this from another nation? Let us say, perhaps from U.S. reconnaissance intelligence?

[Karpati] We did not make use of it continuously. We had to bring into operation certain means on which it was possible to build reliably.

[Reporter] For technical surveillance? Radio surveillance?

[Karpati] Well yes, for example.

[Reporter] Was the defense of the eastern border reinforced?

[Karpati] Yes, in the sense that we took certain helicopter units nearer, so that if necessary we could make use of them. We placed certain subunits on alert, from which they could be mobilized very quickly. We did not take other special measures. I can say repeatedly that we have never given leave to the Army's staff on such a large scale for the Christmas-New Years holiday, as we did this time. We only kept those people on duty who would be needed immediately if something were to happen.

[Reporter] When visiting Bucharest, I heard that the Romanian military leadership did indeed rely on data from Hungarian intelligence. If Hungarian intelligence, Hungarian military intelligence, functioned so well, I can also ask the question whether it functioned well in connection with the Securitate members setting off towards Hungary? There was no small number of them. This is not merely gossip.

[Karpati] No, I repeat that we do not conduct intelligence activities vis-a-vis Romania. In this very difficult period, we conducted radio reconnaissance in a certain direction, in our own interest, and through this we were able to help them, too. We halted this immediately when the situation normalized.

[Reporter] Accordingly, do you not have information about Securitate members?

[Karpati] We do not deal with this, it is the task of the Interior Ministry organs.

Pozsgay Meets With Israeli Party Leaders

LD2901225590 Budapest MTI in English 2129 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, January 29 (MTI)—Visiting Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay held talks with Yisra'el Kessar, general secretary of Histadrut, the Israeli interest protection organisation.

Subsequently, Mr Pozsgay met over working lunch with representatives of the Labour Party, to talk about inter-party relations. The sides established that a number of similarities exist between Israel's former and Hungary's present home political situation, characterised by political divisions, opposition and forced coalition.

In the late afternoon hours, Mr Pozsgay met Eliazar Granot, general secretary of Mapam [United Workers' Party]. During the discussions, questions were put to Mr Pozsgay about Hungarian manifestations of anti-semitism. The sides were of the view that the guarantee for repressing this phenomena would be legal regulation and strengthening left-wing positions.

Mr Pozsgay is due to visit Jerusalem on Tuesday to meet with leaders of the Israeli cabinet.

SDRP, Social Democratic Union Replace PZPR

LD2901203790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report by Jacek Maziarski on remarks by First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Secretary Leszek Miller, Polish United Workers Party Politburo members, at the founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic in Warsaw on 29 January]

[Excerpts] [Maziarski] Today, at one o'clock in the morning, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] ended its existence. This is what the moment awaited by millions of Poles was like. [singing of the Internationale can be heard in the background]

[Begin Rakowski recording] I would like to appeal here for no cruelty to the PZPR. This would be cruelty to one's own life in many cases. I would like, rather... [changes thought] I said at many meetings that the situation now is so strange that we no longer like ourselves. We do not like the party, the former party. It would be nice to walk around with one's head held high. I am announcing the closure of the meeting of the 11th congress of the PZPR. Please stand up, comrades. Please take the PZPR banner out of the room. [end recording]

[Maziarski] By order of the authorities of the PZPR, which no longer exists, red flags have been taken down from party buildings throughout the country. The party is changing its colors, but these are still the same buildings, the same apparatus, and the same activists.

The congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], which replaced the PZPR, appeared in new colors, red and white. The SDRP is a continuation of the PZPR. It wishes to take over the property and assets of the party and will unavoidably be made up of the same people who implemented successive resolutions at Communist Party congresses. This will be a source of trouble for the party, openly admitted Secretary Leszek Miller.

[Begin Miller recording] Our party will, for a long time, be made up of former PZPR members. It is an illusion that our ranks will be filled by masses of former nonparty people as of today. Stressing this fact can only cause suspicion and make for a difficult beginning for the creation of the new party. [end recording]

[Maziarski] The issue of party property was one of the matters dividing the delegates. The SDRP declares a desire to take over this property, but the Social Democratic Union, which is in competition with it and is led by Tadeusz Fiszbach, has declined access to PZPR property. This is not the only difference between the two groups which have emerged from the PZPR, and which left the congress hall as two independent parties. The Union did not want, above all, to take over the people who are associated in the minds of the public with the Communist past. It is not the program which divides these two parties, but the issue of people. [passage omitted summarizing the 29 January congress proceedings]

The SDRP will have lots of problems. I spoke recently, an hour ago, to the leader of the PZPR parliamentary floor group, Marian Orzechowski, who told me that approximately 20 deputies have joined the SDRP; about 25 have joined the Union, that is, Fiszbach's group; and the rest—that is nearly 120 deputies—have decided to become independent for the time being, thus expressing their lack of satisfaction with the course of events.

This changes very significantly the political landscape at the Polish parliament, and I think it also changes the political landscape in Poland and gives one an idea of the level of mistrust. After all, this is an attitude betraying mistrust, mistrust of the entire PZPR tradition. REF: ld2901124290 warsaw domestic polish 291105—new party

discusses leadership candidates

SDRP Discusses Farming, Unemployment

LD2901141590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Over to our correspondent covering the proceedings of the founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP].

[Correspondent] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. There is now a break in the discussion. So far, the subjects discussed are: Private farming, where the situation is disturbing; the moral hangover of former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members and how the delegates who are not social democrats but have founded a social democratic party now feel; unemployment and the fact that the unemployment fund will be too small; and private schools—there is nothing to be afraid of, the important thing is that the standard of such schools should be high. I cannot say that about today's discussion.

In the neighboring Warsaw Hall, another party—the Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic—has been holding its proceedings. This is Tadeusz Fiszbach's group, with a membership of 150 already, all of whom have renounced theirs rights to the assets of the former PZPR. However, here in the Congress Hall it was remarked that the members of the union took part in the 11th PZPR Congress, so they would be taken to account for the costs of the renting of the Congress Hall. [passage omitted]

Mieczyslaw Rakowski took floor at the congress today. He spoke about how members of the SDRP should address one another, whether it should be comrade, Mr, colleague, or first names. He said that the name comrade was created by precisely the social democratic movement and the use of this word should not be dropped with shame. Brandt or other social democrats from the West address him personally as Comrade Rakowski. The speech has had its effect.

At the moment, the congress is preparing itself for the election of the leadership authorities and for adopting resolutions and standpoints.

SDRP Founding Congress Appeals to Polish Left

LD2901212690 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) has issued today an appeal to the Polish Left and to all people of progress which reads in part:

"Today, the forces of the Progressive Democratic Left have to take a stance on the programme of the Right, which sees Poland's salvation in the realisation of the most ruthless type of capitalism. It is the Left that can oppose the deepening of social inequality and divisions, structural unemployment, commercialisation of education, culture, health protection and giving up working people's social achievements.

"Poland needs a real democracy and pluralism. It cannot be achieved and defended without the participation of the Left.

"Thus, we appeal for starting a dialogue serving the working out of an outline of a joint programme of the Polish Left," the appeal reads.

Congress Adopts Foreign, Domestic Resolutions

LD2901190290 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Congress Resolutions and Stances"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The congress adopted several resolutions and stances.

In its stance on the international situation, foreign policy and cooperation with the left-wing forces worldwide, participants in the congress supported, among other things, the idea of the construction of the common european home while stressing that it is possible only if the final character of the borders set after World War Two is recognized.

The party is against the systemic changes restoring capitalism but it supports the reforms aimed at the social market economy. It speaks for the active role of the state, equality of all forms of ownership and the opening to the world.

In its stand on the matters pertaining to education, science and culture, the congress stressed that these spheres of life require special care of the state and the whole economic system as values particularly significant for the people.

In another document, the congress committed the supreme council to define the party's stance on the transformations in the system of local self-government.

The congress also adopted a statement in which it mentioned that the state authorities took into account the rights of state employees, career officers and functionaries of public security forces to join party while observing a principle that no political structures are set up in these institutions.

SDRP Foreign Policy

LD2901222290 Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The stand of the founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) on the international situation, foreign policy and cooperation with the forces of the left in the world, reads in part:

"The interest of the nation and the Republic of Poland is the supreme weal for us. The political and economic sovereignty of Poland, ensuring its security, independence and inviolability of the Polish borders are the basic elements defining the Polish reason of state.

"One of the main goals of the state's foreign policy should be to ensure most favourable conditions for internal restructuring. The internal stability constitutes a necessary condition for the realisation of the basic goals of Poland's foreign policy. Our stand is to develop relations with all the states on the principles of equal rights, respect for territorial integrity and recognition of mutual interests of partners.

"We consider it to be of particular significance to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations with our allies who are also going through a period of stormy changes. We are convinced that these transformations will make it possible to arrange fully partnerly relations. This requires a thorough restructuring of the CMEA and gradual change of the Warsaw Treaty's function.

"We consider as disastrous the revival of nationalism of any kind which threatens internal stability of individual countries and the European order.

"We support the idea of building a 'Common European House' which is possible only under the condition of the recognition of the final character of borders in Europe established after World War II, including Poland's western border. We recognise the right of all nations to self-determination provided it does not breach the rights and interests of partners. From this point of view we will review significant processes of transformations in the GDR and the emerging prospect of rapprochement between both German states.

"We come out for cooperation with the Socialist Internationale and we authorize the party's authorities to review the possibility of joining that organisation," the stand concludes.

SDRP Socioeconomic Policy

LD2901222690 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The stand of the founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) on the socio- economic policy and standards of living of the working people reads in part:

"We are for a new economic order which would combine high efficiency with social justice. We are against the attempts of systemic changes restoring capitalism. However, we support the reforms aimed at social market economy. We are for an active role of the state, equality of all the forms of ownership and the opening to the world. The extent of our responsibility for the economy will correspond to the scope of our participation in decisions concerning it.

"We shall defend the possibly full and rational employment. We are for the state's protection of selected spheres of public life—health, general access to education and culture, while following the principle of equal chances—welfare system.

"We regard the development of ownership relations unrestrained by any ideological reasons as the lasting foundation of the new economic order. We are for pluralism and equal rights of all the forms of ownership which should have manifested in cooperation and competition between state, cooperative municipal, private and self- managed entities.

"We are of the opinion that the state through its intervention policy should participate in the process of restructuring economy.

"Economy can be saved through the protection of production and not the dogmas of the market.

"We are for opening the economy to foreign capital. This, however, must not infringe Poland's economic and political sovereignty.

"Having in mind the weal of the countryside we shall join alliances with all those who share our concern for the nation's self-sufficiency in food production. We speak for the equal treatment of all branches of farm production.

"We are against selling our Polish land to foreign capital, against credit and tax policy which ruins farm production and food industry." REF: ld2901190290 warsaw pap english 291842—pap outlines new

party's resolutions, stances

SDRP Resolution on Constitution

LD2901202490 Warsaw PAP in English 1917 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) today adopted a following resolution:

Poland faces essential systemic changes. The Sejm set up a committee to draw up a new constitution. The congress voices its conviction that the Polish Republic will be a state guaranteeing the freedom of association and political activity to all its citizens, in tune with the norms contained in the international covenants of human and civic rights.

The work is under way on a model of the local self-government. It strives to shape autonomous local power governing itself by its own rights. Because of the momentous character of changes in the way of wielding power on the local and voivodship levels, to be introduced by its self-governed character, the congress obliges the Supreme Board to adopt the party's stand on these changes at one of its coming meetings.

SDRP Education, Science Policy

LD2901231590 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) adopted today a stand on education, science and culture which reads in part:

"In the conditions of free market play and striving at a provisional and quick profit, education, science and culture are liable to degradation which in the future may substantially reduce the sovereignty of Poland, may lead it to the role of a reservoir of cheap manpower and civilisation fall. That is why education, science and activity in the sphere of creating and promoting cultural goods must be put under special care of the state and the whole economic system as goods particularly significant for the nation."

The members of the SDRP gathered at the founding congress came out for a full democracy and freedom in the spheres of education, science, art and their promotion, for equal educational chances as well as for education for the state and nation, not for some political forces and groupings.

The SDRP members considered it necessary to work out new solutions on national scale in the sphere of principles of financing national culture, science and education, to create such a tax system that will be conducive to the creation of cultural goods, development of education and scientific research as well as to a wide patronage of local self-government bodies, enterprises, social organisations and individuals.

"We are convinced that the working and living conditions of artists and culture employees, research workers and teachers should be adequate to the significance of these groups for the civilisational progress of the homeland," the stand concludes.

SDRP Discusses Leadership Candidates

LD2901124290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The founding congress of the new party of the Polish left has resumed its debates. [passage omitted summarizing proceedings thus far] Over to our correspondent at the Congress Hall:

[Correspondent] The proceedings have been taking place since 1030 [0930 GMT]. Let me remind you that the break for sleep was very short, and also that at 0131, the Polish United Workers Party was disbanded. The banner of that party was taken away at 0135.

Participating in the proceedings now are only those who declared their will to join the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. The atmosphere is very free. There has even been a proposal that party members should address one another by their first names. So far, however, the word comrade keeps coming back in the discussion like a boomerang.

Personal matters have been the subject of this morning's discussion. Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Wojciech Garstka, and Leszek Jaskiewicz have been proposed for the post of chairman of the Supreme Council. Such a proposal has also been made to Ireneusz Sekula, Waldemer Swirgon, and Leszek Miller, who did not give their consent to run as candidates. There also were proposals for the post of secretary general of the Executive Committee, and proposals were accepted by Leszek Miller, (Henryk Chorbaczewski), Slawomir Wiatr, and Zbigniew Siemiatkowski.

It is being said in the lobbies that Aleksander Kwasniewski will become chairman of the Supreme Council and that Leszek Miller will be secretary general. We still are awaiting the voting and the elections. Aleksander Kwasniewski put forward a stipulation that he would like to put his own 60 Supreme Council candidates to a vote by the congress.

Ladies and gentlemen! Speeches by respective candidates for the Supreme Council, for the posts of chairman of the Supreme Council and secretary general of the Executive Committee are being delivered at the moment. I will say only that until 0300, 1,157 candidates expressed their will to join the Social Democracy of Polish Republic. This data is now being brought up to date.

Kwasniewski, Miller Elected to SDRP Leadership

LD2901155290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski has been elected chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP]. Leszek Miller was has been elected secretary general. We learned about this a minute ago.

Newly Elected Social Democracy Leaders Profiled

LD3001022690 Warsaw PAP in English 0012 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Main Council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), aged 35, was editor-in-chief of the ITD [not further identified] student weekly in the years 1981-1985, and then of the SZTANDAR MLODYCH youth daily.

From November 1985 member of the Council of Ministers responsible for youth affairs, from October 1987 chairman of the committee for youth and physical culture, from February 1988 president of the Polish Olympic Committee. In the Rakowski government—member of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the government socio-political committee, chairman of the trade union team at the "round table" on behalf of the government.

Leszek Miller, general secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the SDRP, aged 44, started to work in 1963 as a worker in the Linen plant in Zyrardow. After he had completed his studies in 1977 he worked in the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Central Committee [CC] as head of the youth department.

In 1986 he was elected first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Skierniewce, and in December 1988—PUWP CC secretary, a participant in the "round-table" debates—chairman of the sub-team for youth on behalf of the government.

Social Democracy Spokesman on Membership

LD2901172890 Warsaw PAP in English 1605 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—1,174 participants in the congress of the Social-Democracy of the Polish Republic, including 17 deputies from the Sejm floor group of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party], said they would join the new party, press spokesman of the congress of the Social-Democracy of the Polish Republic Marek Siwiec said today.

Commenting on proposing candidates for chairman of the supreme board and general secretary of the new party, Siwiec said that "the Kwasniewski-Miller tandem (a total of six candidates were proposed for both functions) lead in the race."

Siwiec said that probably addressing each other by Christian names would be binding in the new party, in tune with a proposal of "collective bruderschaft" presented by one of the delegates.

When asked about current questions of the former PUWP and its staffers, the spokesman answered that special plenipotentiaries of the supreme board would deal with taking over questions of the former PUWP and organizing the new party in voivodships. The issues of employees of the former PUWP would be solved in tune with state regulations.

Asked about the attitude of the Social-Democracy of the Polish Republic towards the Social-Democratic Union of the Polish Republic now in the making (whose prime mover is Tadeusz Fiszbach), Siwiec answered that the congress did not adopt any stand on this question and that he himself came out for friendliness towards the Union.

SDRP's Kwasniewski, Miller News Conference

LD2901214190 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—"I do not think that myself and Miller are less credible than Fiszbach and Orzechowski. In fact we are in the opposition today and our headquarters are set on fire by anarchists. Our situation resembles that of the first Christians in Rome" Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, SDRP, said during a press conference here today.

"We want to create our party not from the construction of the structures but from the preparations for the elections to the local self-government, said Leszek Miller, general secretary of SDRP at a press conference here today.

He went on to say that he had no illusions as to the fact that for many years all those who had been in PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] would be identified with this party. "But people change," he said.

"I do not know whose backing is better: Rakowski's or Gierek's", said Aleksander Kwasnewski when asked whether it is true that both he and Miller were the proteges of the former first secretary of the PUWP CC [Central Committee].

"Fiszbach, for instance, was the first secretary of PUWP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk in the 1970s and by no means was he an opponent of Gierek," Kwasniewski said.

"We are not for clashes but for dialogue, which should dominate in the left wing instead of controversies. I hope that we shall reach agreement," he said.

Further on News Conference

LD2901233590 Warsaw PAP in English 2241 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—"I do not think that myself and Leszek Miller are less credible than Tadeusz Fiszbach and Marian Orzechowski" said Aleksander Kwasniewski during today's press conference. Earlier today Kwasniewski was elected chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP).

SDRP in Opposition

"Today, our party is in fact in the opposition and its headquarters are set on fire by anarchists. Our situation is similar to that of the first Christians in rome," said Kwasniewski.

General secretary of the new party Leszek Miller said that the party has been taken over by a new generation for the vices of the Stalinist era one canot blame those who were children at that time.

Theory of Convergence Reinstated

Kwasniewski has said that on Tuesday, he and Millr will be received by Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski. While answering one of the questions concerning the declaration of the new party, Kasniewski said that the dilemma whether socialism or capitalism is greatly outdated. It is high time to reinstate the full glamour to the theory of convergence which says that the systems will grow similar to each other.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] Over, What Now

According to Kwasniewski, former PUWP left the congress in three directions, Fiszbach's union which attracted some 100 delegates, SDRP with some 1,200 founders and the third line, represented by some 300 persons who have not acceded to the founding congress. Some 30 Sejm deputies have joined the SDRP, roughly the same number as Fiszbach's union. Most of the members of the former PUWP parliamentary floor group have not declared their access to any of the parties. Kwasniewski announced his meeting with the caucus.

Together on Property

Many questions concerned property matters. Kwasniewski said that part of PUWP wealth comes from the fees and work of its members. This is the problem of the whole left wing. Therefore, this matter should be discussed, among others, with Lipski's Polish Socialist Party (PS) and with Fiszbach's Union.

SDRP To Joint Socialist International (Q) [not further identified]

Our party will seek membership in the Socialist International but will not vie with Fiszbach's union in this respect. The talks to this effect held recently by former First Secretary of PUWP Central Committee Mieczyslaw Rakowski are very promising.

Division of roles

Asked by PAP's reporter whether Miller as general secretary will be the actual leader of the party as is the case in many Western social democratic parties where the function of chairman is frequently representative, Kwasniewski said that he would be very happy with such a division of roles. But there will be enough work for two.

Proteges (Q)

"I do not know whose backing is better, Rakowski's or Gierek's," said Kwasniewski to the suggestion that he and Miller were Rakowski's proteges. He recalled that in the 1970's Fiszbach was the first secretary of the voivodship committee in Gdansk and while holding such a prominent office he had not been an opponent of the then party leader Edward Gierek.

"The advantage that we have consists not only in the fact that we were not Rakowski's proteges but also that we have a short party record. It is connected with the process of national agreement and "the round table". When the emotions cool downen Rakowski's many years' social democratic activities will be assessed objectively," said Miller.

Left Wing Needs Dialogue

Kwasniewski expressed hope that it would be possible to reach agreement with Fiszbach's union. "We speak in favour of dialogue within the left wing and not controversies," he said.

Workers Delegates Not Joining Social Democracy

LD2901222590 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—A group of delegates [at the party congress] representing workers, members of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR], issued a statement in which they explained their decision not to join the newly formed party—Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP).

As the main reason for the refusal, the group quoted the omission in the declaration of a passage from the earlier approved text which guaranteed that the "future of Poland will not be tied with capitalism but with democratic socialism as a condition for man's right to dignity and unrestrained development."

They also said that the declaration in its present form rules out versatility of views and made it difficult for many delegates to find their place in SDRP's ranks.

Social Democratic Union Issues Declaration

LD2901205790 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Union of Social Democracy Issues Declaration (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The founding group of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland today issued a declaration of intent which reads in part:

We, representatives of the social democratic trend of the social left wing, set up a founding group of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland here yesterday.

We share a common desire to serve the nation, Poland. We are united by the ideas of freedom, equality and social justice. They link us with the Polish tradition of independence with progressive social democratic movements. The idea of social solidarity and tolerance is the factor which links us with universal humanistic tradition.

We speak in favour of basing Poland's relations with her closest and further neighbours on agreement and cooperation, mutual respect for national interests. Poland has no other alternative but to actively join in the process of European integration.

A congress of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland will be held soon. It will work out programmatic and statutory documents and elect provisional authorities of the union. The first congress of the union will be held still this year.

We are ready for discussion, dialogue and cooperation with everybody who follows the ideals of humanism, democracy and progress.

Further on Declaration

LD2901235490 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The founding group of the Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland (USDRP) held a meeting here today. Tadeusz Fiszbach, who became chairman of the group, presented a declaration of intention, adopted by the initiating group, to a press conference here today. The document states in part:

"We come from various professional groups and different parts of Poland. Among us there are people who have not belonged to any party until now. There are representatives of intelligentsia, workers, farmers—we want to co-create democratic, citizen's society.

"We are standing on the grounds of parliamentary and self- governing democracy and we want to participate in the creation of a new political, economic, social and ecological order in Poland.

"We are for national agreement, the binding element of which should be the ensuring of a sovereign and safe state existence within the current borders, and dialogue and constructive cooperation of main social and political forces. Poland's relations with close and more distant neighbours should be based on agreement, cooperation, mutual respect for national interests. There is no other alternative for Poland but to actively join the European integration process.

"The union is an autonomous movement. We want to emerge spontaneously and at a grassroot-initiative, also through the creation of regional and group structures.

"The founding congress of the Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland is going to take place soon, and then, still this year, its first congress.

"We dissociate ourselves from monopolistic political system. We are for pluralism. We declare readiness for dialogue with other social democratic and socialist groupings, also with those which until recently were repressed. We are ready to exchange thoughts, talk to and cooperate with everyone guided by the ideals of humanism, democracy and progress," the declaration reads.

The founding group has over 140 members. it includes 27 deputies to the Sejm (lower house of parliament) and some 100 persons who were delegates to the 11th Congress of the PUWP. As goes for its financial situation, it has some one million zloties from membership fees. It uses 'contact' rooms at two private flats in Warsaw. In the nearest time the group is going to issue its own information bulletin.

Swiecicki Not Joining Social Democratic Union

LD3001023190 Warsaw PAP in English 0116 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—Poland's Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki today stated he did not join the Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland (USDRP) despite his best wishes for the new party.

"I do care about the restructuring of Poland's economic system and give all my powers to this aim. This does not require party membership but provides for cooperation with all those who have the same goal," Swiecki said in a statement given to PAP.

Fiszbach on Need To Account for Past

LD2801153690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] A split has appeared at the founding congress of the new party of the Polish Left, which is deliberating in Warsaw. Speaking in the discussion on the draft ideological declaration of the new party, Tadeusz Fiszbach said, inter alia: If there arises but one leftist party, then I will not enter its ranks. He stressed that without honesty and credibility the left does not have any future. If we do not bring ourselves to account for the last 45 years, then we will commit collective suicide. We must openly state, stressed Tadeusz Fiszbach, that the Polish United Workers Party has (?betrayed) its ideals many times and from the very beginning of its existence. And beginning in 1956, [as heard] it was the tool of the merciless enslavement of Poles.

Let us also admit, said Tadeusz Fiszbach, that the tragedy of Martial Law need not have taken place. I participated, at the beginning of the 1980's, in talks with Suslov and others. I explained that it is necessary to cooperate intelligently with Solidarity. This was not appreciated, and not only by Suslov. After Martial Law, the party did much to try and destroy Solidarity and its authority. We must also admit that it is precisely we who are responsible for the current state of the country, stressed Tadeusz Fiszbach. Tadeusz Fiszbach also said that we will not be in a state to explain to society that from one day to the next we have been transformed into social democrats from communists. Tadeusz Fiszbach also stressed that his activity at the congress is not aimed at splitting the party.

Reactions to PZPR Dissolution

LD2901230990 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—After the dissolution of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), some parties and groupings took their stands on this fact in their statements.

Commenting on the fact, the Confederation of Independent Poland KPN said: "The end of shameful activity of the PUWP does not put aside the danger of further functioning of the remnants of communist agencies."

The KPN's makes its attitude to all political groupings dependent on their breaking or rejecting links with any agencies, whereas from the Sejm, Senate (lower and upper houses of parliament) and government it expects introducing a real political pluralism and fixing the date of free elections to the parliament.

Some of the papers of the PUWP press have undergone a metamorphosis—the TRYBUNA LUDU daily came out today under the new name of TRUBUNA KONGRESOWA (CONGRESS TRIBUNE). The SZTANDAR LUDU daily, which has been issued in Lublin since 1945, appeared today as DZIENNIK LUBELSKI (LUBLIN DAILY). It advertises itself as a "new, pluralistic paper being dependent only on its readers," while its publisher, editor-in-chief and editorial staff remain the same.

The identification plaques disappeared from the buildings of the former PUWP except for these which tell about the new commercial users of the buildings. Only white-and-red flags are hoisted on the buildings.

Walesa Assesses Impact

LD2901192290 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 29—The press office of the Solidarnosc chairman today conveyed to PAP Lech Walesa's statement on Poland's political situation following the disbanding of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]. The statement reads:

"The end of the PUWP work is the last stage closing the epoch of wielding power in an authoritarian way. The forty year monopolistic rule of the party standing outside public control led to the crisis of a citizen's identification with the state, the disappearance of political life and to the critical state of the Polish economy.

"Solidarnosc, the movement of reforms, took upon itself the burden of reforming the Republic. The assumption of responsibility for this country was the result of putting enormous confidence in Solidarnosc, which society expressed in the June elections. Solidarnosc gave its best people, with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the lead, to the state leading elites.

"One cannot build Poland's future only on one political orientation and particularly on the formula of the trade union, it is time to finally put things in order.

"The coming congress of Solidarnosc should forejudge its trade union character. The trade union's fundamental aim should be to protect the interests of the working people, which is particularly necessary at a time of ownership changes, under the conditions of inflation and growing pauperization of society.

"Only political parties should compete with each other in the coming free general elections and in the struggle for power, proposing their own leaders and competitive programmes. The time came to revive Polish political life, to shape new parties and to form new programmes.

"Never so much depended on society as today. Let us not waste this opportunity. I call for the active joining in the creation of Poland's new political image and for society's political activeness."

Walesa on Inheritance of PZPR Assets

LD2901160190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The Press Office of the Chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity has passed on to us the text of today's statement by Lech Walesa. It reads:

The assets of the former Polish United Workes Party [PZPR], which were accumulated illegally, are the property of the whole society. For this reason, none of the newly created parties has the right to the material assets inherited from the PZPR. The taking over of these assets by any party will be an act of political arrogance aimed at irritating society. I trust the special government commission set up to investigate the issue of party assets will not disappoint the expectations of society. In the conditions of political pluralism, now being reborn, no party can retain its privileged position, Lech Walesa says in his statement issued today.

Government, PZPR Meet on Party Assets 25 Jan

LD2501233690 Warsaw PAP in English 1821 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—A government committee set up to define the legal status of property now in the hands of political parties and youth unions with the aim of regaining state-owned property today met in parliament building here with representatives of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee. The sides discussed their further cooperation.

Being aware of public needs and the aims of the committee, PUWP officials at the talks declared the party's will of cooperation and voiced the hope that solutions that the committee proposed would meet public expectations and respect the rule of law.

The PUWP representatives undertook an obligation to present the government committee by Feb. 15 with a list of buildings now used by the party. By Feb. 28 the committee is to receive data on the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch publishing concern.

The next meeting of the committee will take place not later than Feb. 3.

Mazowiecki Appoints Political Advisors

LD2901195290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Today, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, acting on the recommendation of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, appointed the following to the Political Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs: Tadeusz Bien, SD [Democratic Party]; Andrzej Celinski, OKP [Citizens' parliamentary floor group]; Andrzej Gdula, former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]; Hieronim Kubiak, former PZPR; Michal Kurek, PSL-Odrodzenie [Polish Peasant's Party-Rebirth]; Jerzy Marlewski, PAX [Christian Social Association]; Jacek Merkel, OKP; and Jacek Taylor, Solidarity. The task of the Political Advisory Committee at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, established after the Council of Ministers resolution on 12 December 1989, is to ensure that major political and social forces participate in the consideration of matters which concern this ministry.

Jaruzelski on Local Self-Government Bill

LD1401173590 Warsaw PAP in English 0011 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 12—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with representatives of the Senate, Sejm and government who are working on draft laws on the local self-government.

"The changes of the structure and forms of activity of the local self-government should be properly prepared as concerns the legal, organizational and financial aspects," the president said.

"The local self-government, representing the will of the residents, should play well the role of the host of a given area. These changes ought to be consistent with the general concept of political and economic transformations, while helping implement the difficult tasks undertaken by the government headed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki," Jaruzelski stressed.

Jaruzelski Addresses National Assembly 25 Jan

LD2501183490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1408 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski to National Assembly session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President [Vaclav Havel]: It is with great satisfaction that I second the words of warm welcome extended to you by the Sejm speaker. Your presence in the Polish Pariament has a special significance and importance. It opens, as if symbolically, a new chapter in relations between our states and nations.

Mr Sejm speaker, Mr Senate speaker, esteemed Sejm, esteemed Senate, there are not many nations in Europe whose historical origins are so recent. Enduring similar conditions, through struggle against foreign resistance throughout the millenium, virtually simultaneously, the first forms of statehood of the western Slavs were formed. The history of Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks has proceeded along various paths. They have never, however, lost their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity. We have enriched each other, and what was later to be called exchanges of ideas, people, and information was conducted across the Tatar mountains many years ago. Literature, music, theater, film, visual arts, the most outstanding works of culture of our nations are well known in both countries.

I am pleased to be able to say this in the presence of our guest, an eminent intellectual, a writer and dramatist, and recall on this occasion that a Polish theater put on your plays before they could appear on the stage in your own country. Today is an appropriate moment to emphasize that precisely now, European humanistic values based on a vital and mutual diffusion of cultures, and the meeting of nations—especially among the younger generation—are an unusually valuable bond of our friendship and cooperation.

I know that you, sir, prefer to avoid ceremony and protocol and banal platitudes. Indeed, Byzantine forms are becoming a thing of the past, never to return. There are moments, however, when words— particularly on official state visits—take on a special importance. I am not someone who favors constantly looking back. Remembering what binds us, however, I think that we should tell each other frankly what was bad and unjust in the past. True friendship can only be built on full truth, honesty, and objectivity.

In our many centuries of history as neighbors, just as in even the best families, there have been misunderstandings and quarrels. These were of no benefit or credit to anybody. History has judged harshly the decision of the prewar Polish authorities to participate in the postmonarchist partition of Czechoslovakia.

Today, too, I owe you, as the supreme representative of your country, words of redress in connection with an event closer to us in time. The Sejm and the Senate of the Polish Republic have pronounced judgment on our participation in the intervention of Warsaw Pact Forces in Czechoslovakia. The stance of the Polish Parliament constitutes an act of unambiguous and significant import. The August drama of 1968 has left a bitter moral taste, regardless of our views at the time and the functions we fulfilled. The question constantly recurs, therefore, about the essence of those events, about the internal and external conditioning factors which existed then. The atmosphere of enmity and suspicion between East and West, its doctrinal outline, which was frequently backed up by disinformation, had their effect.

Although the Prague Spring was ahead of its time, its libertarian and democratic messages sank deeply into the minds and hearts of many people, not only Czech and Slovaks. In the history of our states and nations the experiences of good neighbors have, however, prevailed. Let us at least look at what the generation, which is still living, remembers. It was precisely on Polish territory before the outbreak of World War II that Lidvid Svoboda formed the Czech military unit. Many of your pilots, fighting so gallantly together with ours for the skies of London, trained beforehand in Poland. There was a time of joint struggle with fascism in the West and in the East: the battles of the Czechoslovak Corps and the Polish Army.

The participation of Poles in the Slovak national uprising, the battle path of our Second Army up to the outskirts of Prague—the life of our nations developed in a similar manner, when the time came to heal the war injuries, the social and civilization transformations. [sentence as heard] Stalinism cast its shadow over this period of history. Later things were not all that straighforward either, but Polish-Czech links were preserved; they proved to be indestructible and close.

We want to intensify them further today. The conditions for a modern model of coexistence and cooperation between our fraternal nations are being formed. I can assure you that all the important political forces in Poland genuinely desire that. Experiences to date confirm that the sovereignly chosen path of transformations, carried out fundamentally but responsibly in the spirit of national reconciliation, with concern for public peace, is the correct path. Poland was the first to enter onto it and, I believe, it will not depart from it.

The changes which have recently occurred in Czechoslovakia, and in which you have played a particular role, allow us to look into the future together. Freed from Marxist dogmas, it must bring answers to dilemmas and questions. How are we best to reconcile economic efficiency with social justice and care for the individual? How are we to avoid inheriting old mistakes? How are we to assure, under conditions of authentic pluralism, the infallibility of the mechanisms of democracy, the stability of the state, and a high political culture? Those are the broad spheres toward a new joint way of thinking.

Mr President, the western part of our continent is quickly moving toward full integration. It is difficult to predict its final shape, the alignment of forces, and, particularly, its place in the global system. But for both our states, this is a test of our imagination, of courageous thinking. One thing is certain: Those going alone, lumbering along, the anachronistic ones will not have much say in the international race, particularly regarding the economic and political giants. We have to issue ourselves an extrance ticket into the Europe of the end of the 20th century. Poland and Czechoslovakia cannot be moved to a different place on the map. Only here where we live can we build the future of our peoples. The neighbor to the south is one of our main economic partners. The scale of cooperation is large.

Unfortunately, quantity often does not translate into quality. The level of industrial coproduction and scientific-technical and technological cooperation still does not correspond to needs or to potential. Ecological threats also spur us to take responsible and rapid action. The concurrence of reformist strivings and solutions creates good prospects. By building a bilateral model, a modern model of economic relations and lively interpersonal links, we can strengthen the impetus toward similar processes in the whole region. This was confirmed by the recent CEMA meeting. Poland and Czechoslovakia came out firmly in favor of a fundamental reconstruction of the mechanisms of multilateral cooperation.

We want the longest of our country's frontiers to be wide open to ideas and people, goods and services, and to the spiritual and material values of our peoples. At this point, if I may, I would like to add a lighter touch: We remember that in Hamlet, Shakespeare put the Czechs on the Baltic. Poland has more than 500 kilometers of coastline. Let us give the great classic a chance. May his mistake be changed, in all Polish ports, into a real vision of a genius. [applause]

Gorbachev's idea of a common European home is coming closer and gaining form. Poland and Czechoslovakia have similar experiences in foreign policy, close interests and aims. Being located in the heart of Europe and being allied countries, as well as being members of the Warsaw Pact and an important factor of balance on our continent, they perform a signficiant role in European processses. We are actively striving to overcome the division of the continent.

An unprecedented meeting of parliament speakers from Europe, the United States, and Canada was held in this very hall in November 1988. Important elements of our plan to reduce armaments and to increase trust in Central Europe have entered the bloodstream of the disarmament negotiations. Poland has come out in favor of building and developing institutions—including also confederational—forms of general European integration and cooperation. The proposal to set up a council for European cooperation, submitted by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is going in a similar direction.

Many challenges and dilemmas still face Europe. It is in its most vulnerable and sensitive region that processes are now taking place, often in a heated manner, which will have far-reaching consequences. For this reason it is even more important that security and stabilization, which were achieved with such effort, not be undermined.

We are not biased, but we cannot be short-sighted. I refer here to the German issue, and particularly to such a fundamental issue as the inviolability of borders. This is the first among the most important premises of peace on our continent. We invariably talk about this with total firmness.

Mr President, you have the opportunity today to implement the ideological and humanistic message of your creative work and your activity as a politician and head of state. Democracy, justice, dignity, and sovereignty of man are common universal values to us. We value your personal involvement in developing the bonds of friendship between our nations. Please accept our sincere greetings for the Czechs and the Slovaks, for your country and for you personally. We wish you success on your chosen path. [applause]

25 Jan Sejm Discusses Local Self-Government

LD2501212790 Warsaw PAP in English 1836 GMT 25 Jan 90

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Deputies described today's Sejm debate on four senate draft laws on local self-governments as laying anew the foundations of democracy in Poland and building genuine motivation for civic activity.

Three of the draft concern self-governments' system, electoral law and employees of these self-governments, while the fourth one proposes suitable amendments in Poland's constitution.

The Sejm resolved to form a special committee for considering the drafts.

Local self-governments, existing in Poland in the period between the two world wars, were liquidated by the Sejm law in 1950 in tune with the Stalinist principle that it is easier to govern an atomized society which does not form internally linked communities.

Since then up till now people's councils of the basic level (that is rural, municipal and district ones) and of the voivodship one have been operating. They hold the functions of the administration and state authority organs.

The Senate draft laws envisage liquidation of all people's councils and formation of self-governments only at the level of rural communities. The governments would not be subordinated, as people's councils used to, to the president.

As a local authority in a given territory, a self-government would have a legal status, possess its own assets and budget formed from incomes.

The Senate does not provide for the existence of self-governments at the voivodship level where only the state authority (that is voivods) is to hold goveern [as received] and have a limited control over rural communities.

The Senate envisages also a possibility for forming the so-called voivodship Sejms without executive powers composed of rural communities representatives.

Self-governments in rural communities are to deal with all local public issues and with the so-called tasks commissioned to them by the state administration (for instance, the work of registries).

The draft electoral law envisages general, equal, secret and direct elections and assumes that it will be the so-called majority election (candidates with the greatest number of votes will win).

According to the draft, the hitherto rural offices' staff will almost automatically become the staff of self-governments, although it will be possible to exchange them, for instance for political reasons.

Besides a general support for the need to reform local authority, options of respective parliamentary floor groups were clearly divided. The citizens' parliamentary floor group OKP, the major supporter of senate's proposals, was of the opinion that self- government cannot become a rival of state (government) structures, but only can supplement them. The OKP saw the biggest threat in the possibility of financial problems in the initial phase.

The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] floor group, which forwarded the biggest number of reservations to the drafts, expressed even greater doubts as to the financial standing of self- governments.

PUWP deputies charged Senate with excessive haste in preparing the documents. They were of the opinion that self-government must also exist at the voivodship level. They expressed concern over civil servants and elaborated on how to shield well skilled civil servants against effects of political shifts in power at local levels. They are of the opinion that electoral law should not be based on the majority system, but on more democratic system of proportional representation.

The idea of proportional representation was supported by all other parliamentary floor groups, which at the same time spoke in favour of spelling out in greater detail principles of property ownership and financial regulations binding self-governments.

Deputies of the Polish Peasants' party-rebirth PSL-O stated that elections should be preceded by the passing by parliament of the entire package of laws (not only those discussed today), regulating the functioning of self-gopvernments.

Democratic Party deputies pressed for the settlement, before elections to self-governments, of the administrative division of the country at least at the lowest level and for different approach towards rural areas and big cities. The draft proposes similar solutions for rural areas and cities.

The Pax Catholic Association as well as the Social Christian Union UCHS deputies were also for the correction of the administrative division and for assuring equal access to mass media during election campaign.

Deputies from the Polish Social-Catholic Union proposed shorter terms for elected bodies of self-governments. It would permit for better selection of representatives of local societies and better supervision of their functioning.

PAP Summarizes 26 Jan Sejm Session

LD2701055190 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—The Sejm debate today was preceded by Deputy Stefan Mleczkois (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party] address who turned to the government to start work on a national programe of physical culture at the state and not only ministerial level.

The Sejm appointed a special committee to consider the draft laws on local self-governments. The committee is composed of 47 deputies.

Minister Hall on Parties' Assets

The Sejm started debate on parties' assets.

Minister for Relations with Political Parties Aleksander Hall said that the process of separating the state from parties is under way.

We have a firm intention to drive the process to the end, not by means of revolutionary actions and accomplished facts but in tune with the law and good manners, Minister Hall stated.

In this context, he added, public opinion must firmly condemn lawless occupation of PUWP buildings. We will not build a democratic state if the law does not mean law.

On behalf of the signatories of a draft law on taking over the PUWP assets by the Treasury, Deputy Zygmunt Lupina (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) [OKP] proposed to remove the draft from the agenda following the formation of the governmental commission and Premier Mazowiecki's request.

The motion to remove the draft was passed with 29 votes against and 46 abstentions.

Minister Hall explained that the government will consistently seek repayment of credits drawn by the PUWP, the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party last year.

Asked who will have the right to use the PUWP's assets after the party is dissolved, Minister Hall assured that all PUWP's successors will have to meet obligations towards the Treasury.

The Sejm adopted the law on political parties' assets with eight votes against and 38 abstentions.

In the next point of the agenda the Sejm moved to elect four deputies to the National Judiciary Council.

The Sejm elected only Deputy Jozef Lubieniecki (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) from seven candidates proposed as the remaining ones did not obtain the required number of votes.

By overwhelming majority (two votes against, seventeen abstentions) the Sejm rejected the Senate amendments to the law amending the law on the Rural Social Fund. Thus the Sejm upheld the text of the law adopted in November, 1989.

The Sejm rejected (with 257 votes for) the Senate amendment to the law on deputies rights and duties. The senators wanted the parliamentary floor groups to number at least twenty people.

Problem of Nuclear Power Plant

Chairman of the State Atomic Agency Professor Roman Zelaz ny presented to the Sejm the government's point of view on the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec (coastal Poland).

ZelaZ ny appealed to the deputies for wisdom, confidence and lack of emotions while considering the problem. He stressed that the Sejm's negative decision on Zarnowiec passed now would be received as a vote of no confidence for the government.

He told the deputies about the intention to appoint a team of experts to supervise the construction. They would inform society about their opinions.

Even advocates of the nuclear power plant concede that one cannot construct it without social consent and there is no social consent for Zarnowiec, stated Deputy Antoni Furtak (OKP). To the protest petitions containing 120 thousand signatures which he presented to the government a week ago, the deputy added more lists with 20 thousand signatures. They go to show that society is against nuclear power, he stressed.

Deputy Tadeusz Bilinski (PUWP) moved that a decision on the continuation of the construction be left to the government. In his view only the government can use the opinions of experts and make decisions taking account of economic and social needs.

If the decision is to belong to the Sejm, as even the Kerm [as received] Government Economic Committee was not able to make it, the government should once again present a precise and honest analysis not only of the country's power balance but also of ecologic threats, the power-intensity of industry, investment undertakings to limit the emission of harmful gases and dust from power plants already operating, stressed Joanna Proszowska who wrapped up the discussions.

"I admire those who already hold firm opinions on the construction of the power plant in Zarnowiec," stated Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk referring to the deputies' discussion. Presenting the government's stance on the matter, he recalled that he decided to halt the construction of the power plant in Zarnowiec for 1990. The final stance will be adopted following indepth analysis and following the elaboration of a program of developing the power industry, nuclear inclusive.

Society will be informed about all moves, the minister stressed, recalling that the Sejm is empowered to make a decision regarding the fate of the power plant in Zarnowiec as well as calling a referendum on the matter.

The Sejm however made no such decisions because it turned out that there were only 144 deputies in the hall, below the quorum. "This period of time will allow us to learn the opinions of objective people, without unnecessary emotions and unrest," Deputy Speaker Fiszbach summed up the debate.

Question period followed next.

General on 'Defensive' Military Doctrine

LD2501022790 Warsaw PAP in English 0002 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 24—Polish military doctrine "unequivocally obliges Polish Armed Forces to pursue tasks of defending the state exclusively as defensive operations, First Deputy of the Polish Army's military doctrines and concepts Gen. Jerzy Szumski said at a seminar of representatives of 35 CSCE states here.

He recalled that until the start of the 1980s it was envisaged in the Polish military doctrine that in case of an aggression the Armed Forces, after repelling it and inflicting losses on the enemy, "would swiflty shift the hostilities to its territory." Now, the Polish military doctrine envisages the conducting of defensive operations exclusively "within the borders of Poland and the alliance."

Further on Military Doctrine

LD1701223990 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 17—Chief of the General Staff, Polish deputy minister of defence, General Jozef Uzycki presented the basic assumptions of Poland's defensive doctrine during the CSCE siminar on military doctrines here today.

General Uzycki said that Poland's defensive doctrine ensues from the reason of state of the Polish republic. Its security, right to life in peace, independence and sovereignty, the integrality and inviolability of the country's territory.

Polish Armed Forces are organized in tune with the principle of defensive sufficiency. Their structures and the size of manpower are shaped in such a way so they could withstand an aggression alone or in the frame lines of the coalition defensive system, stressed General Uzycki.

PAP Interviews Deputy Interior Minister

LD1401183990 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—In an interview for PAP, Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Gen. Zbigniew Pudysz presented the main elements of draft amendments to laws regulating the operations of the ministry of Internal Affairs now being prepared at the ministry. Pudysz told PAP among other things:

"We have prepared drafts of two laws: on the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs and on the protection of state Security. On public order and security and on bodies related to this field. The draft legal regulations envisage that the minister will be the key body of state administration on matters on security and public order and will oversee two central offices: the Offices for the Protection of the State whose tasks would include the protection of the state's security and the foundations of the constitutional order, and an office provisionally called police or state police. The heads of these offices would be appointed by the premier.

"The tasks of the security service have been significantly limited and adjusted to the new conditions. It has been significantly cut in numbers because many tasks it pursued before became purposeless. At present the service employs 7.5 thousand functionaries and this number will be reduced by about 3,000 in connection with the decision to dissolve security services in district offices of internal affairs. We envisage that the Office of State Protection will operate solely on the central and voivodship level. The lower level will include only the police which will be also subordinated to local self-government.

"As goes for cadre policy, there are several important elements in this respect. Last June the security service numbered 24 thousand functionaries while in November the manpower in this service fell to 7.5 thousand. With security service men being directed to work in the militia.

"Another important element of the cadre policy are changes in top posts in the ministry and voivodship level. For example, the heads voivodship internal affairs offices were replaced in 13 voivodship last year. There were also changes in other leading posts.

"Despite the ministry's big efforts, the threat of common crime is growing. As is commonly known, crisis situations in the state are always a crime-generating factor. There are many vacancies in cities. This pertains to Warsaw, Gdansk, and Katowice. The number of vacancies at the ministry today totals over 20,000.

"Employees of he State Security Office will have notably lesser powers than the police. Retoring public order which sometimes calls for the use of water cannons or chemical agents will solely befall the police. The distribution of tasks and powers correspondends to social expectations.

"Under the law and practice, the ministry serves society and not some specific political forces in the state. "As concerns rank distinctions we want to return to names from the period between the two world wars."

27 Jan TRYBUNA LUDU Final Issue

LD2701204690 Warsaw PAP in English 1628 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—On the day of the 115th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] congress, January 27, 1990, the last issue of the TRYBUNA LUDU, organ of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, was published.

Starting on Monday a daily TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA will be edited. Its first issue, dated January 29, 1990, is to include extensive reports from the 11th PUWP congress debates and from the founding congress of a party of the Polish Left, alongside rich information service from Poland and abroad, the editors announced today.

New Party Daily Launched 29 Jan

LD2901151490 Warsaw PAP in English 1326 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The first issue of the TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA, the daily which replaced the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Central Committee organ TRYBUNA LUDU, was published today.

The new daily has 24 pages in the tabloid form, that is by a half smaller than the former TRYBUNA which had six pages in its weekday edition.

Under the headline "Eleventh Congress Ends History of PUWP," the paper carries an extensive, 16-page report on the 11th congress and the founding congress of the new party, including the full text of the political report delivered by Mieczyslaw Rakowski on Saturday and an extensive summary of the discussion on Saturday and Sunday.

At the international news columns the TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA prints extensive excerpts from American scientist F.J. Dionne's article on the transformations in Eastern Europe published in THE WASHINGTON POST daily.

Hitherto editor-in-chief of the TRYBUNA LUDU Jerzy Majka is the editor-in-chief of the new daily.

The editors did not specify whose organ the TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA is. The editorial office has, among other things, party and ideology departments.

The TRYBUNA LUDU was edited starting December 1948, that is since the formation of the PUWP at the unification congress in Warsawa.

New Solidarity Daily To Appear in Gdansk

LD2901151990 Warsaw PAP in English 1335 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—GAZETA GDANSKA daily edited by journalists affiliated to the Solidarity and the Liberal Congress in Gdansk is to appear in Gdansk, Elblag and part of Slupsk Voivodships (northern Poland) in mid-February, the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily reported today.

The paper will be published by the Polish-Swedish "semeco" company. Its planned circulation of 50,000 to 100,000 copies is to be increased following the extension of its distribution onto the whole coast.

The daily wants to prepare its readers for capitalism, to propagate market economy and self-government initiatives, the GAZETA WYBORCZA quoted an editor as saying.

We plan to give prominent treatment to the Baltic Zone, to developments in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, in the Scandinavian countries and in Germany, and thus to work for cooperation of Baltic Europe, the editor said.

RZECZPOSPOLITA Not Official 'Mouthpiece'

AU1801103090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Dariusz Fikus editorial: "New Content and New Form"]

[Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA has changed its masthead. I have been urged to change the masthead from the time I took over as the paper's editor, but have previously always refused, believing that a change of form ought not to precede changes in content. It is not up to me to pontificate on whether RZECZPOSPOLITA is changing fast enough, or whether it is finding its feet in the new Polish reality. This question is best left for the reader to answer. The level of subscriptions for the first quarter, however, supports the assumption that our readers are continuing to buy the paper. Figures show that we have acquired over 200,000 subscribers, inclusive of corporate and office subscriptions. I receive many varied letters and telephone calls, including those which accuse me of transforming a government organ into a paper of extreme political views.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to make the following clear. Can one in all honesty call RZECZPOSPOLITA a government organ? RZECZPOSPOLITA is nobody's organ, although a lot of people readily identify the paper's stance with the government's official position. Throughout the world there are hardly any papers that in truth can be called government organs. In general, papers are published by political parties, orientations, or movements, but very rarely by governments. Our paper is naturally favorably inclined to the Mazowiecki government. The paper's aim is to present government policy and to throw light on its thinking. Nevertheless, we try to speak with our own voice, and we publish the opinions of the teams of journalists who work for us, or the paper's stated opinion, and we consider ourselves solely responsible for our opinions.

RZECZPOSPOLITA is attempting, in a more comprehensive way than other daily papers are currently doing, to inform its readership of the current debates taking place in parliament, and to give its readership the texts of the latest legislation as it appears. Nonetheless, RZECZPOSPOLITA has no exclusive right to purport to speak in the name of the government. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is a coalition government composed of representatives of different political forces. There are members of "Solidarity," the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR], the Democratic Party, the Polish Peasant Party, the Liberals, the Socialists, and even the independents. These political tendencies all have their own press organs to present their political ideas. RZECZPOSPOLITA, as far as possible, carries comments by individual ministers and presents the positions of individual parties and the various deputies clubs. These can be statements that have been authorized, reflecting official positions, or comments that are articulated in the course of the interview. We are nobody's mouthpiece, and we do not carry anything that we intend our readers to take as the gospel truth. We want to speak with our own voice, as well as echo the voice of our readership, and of those people who sympathize with us.

We have no desire to aggravate Polish conflicts, or politicize those issues which do not need to be politicized. In the face of all the things that are happening in our country today, there is a simple need to tell the truth. It is self-evident that the resistance of the old structures and past arrangements also has its political dimension. Can this be ignored? Does the conflict between the farm and the town; the conflict between the consumer and the producer not have its political dimension? Is the problem of wealth amassed by the PZPR not a political issue? Our aim is to highlight these issues as objectively as we can, and not to aggravate latent conflicts, and we shall strive to do this with all our determination.

Many readers have written to complain about the high cost of living. They draw the following comparison: We have world prices, but our wages are at the Third, or even Fourth World level. In this correspondence there are frequent attempts to articulate the basic questions: "Who is responsible for the poverty of the Polish people, the destruction of the Polish economy, and for the humiliations we are suffering?" These same people are also asking in whose name they are now being asked to make further sacrifices? The letters indicate mounting criticism of Walesa, "Solidarity," and the government. There is the pressing question whether free elections will have to be brought about by force. Putting these questions aside, one has to highlight the splendid show of solidarity in the face of the Romanian tragedy, and the feeling of pride that, in leading the way to peaceful evolution, the Poles have blazed the trail for others in our part of Europe. One has to mention the deep faith placed in Mazowiecki, in his touching directness, and in his integrity. There are also signs of growing anxiety about the future, but these are tempered by the faith and belief that we may yet succeed. There are the constant complaints in the food queues and on the other hand, there is the selfless giving to those who are in greater need.

It is not easy to show Poland in all its present-day complexity, and we are aware that on some days we are more successful at this, and on other days, much less so. We do not always succeed in divesting ourselves of the tendency to fall back on stereotypes, or in our attempts to break free from stiffness of language. We will try to overcome these weaknesses. We are also counting on your help and contribution. I hope that the eagle in our new masthead, an eagle taken from the time of the January Uprising in 1831, will give our joint newspaper new lift, and I hope that it can act as our guide on the road toward a new economic, and political order. We want to actively participate in this dramatic, but fascinating adventure. It is from this adventure that a new Poland will emerge.

Democratic Party Caucus Elects New Chairman

LD2601060490 Warsaw PAP in English 0000 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—The Parliamentary Floor Group of the SD Democratic Party elected Tadeusz Bien its new chairman today.

Bien told PAP: "Our intention was to break up the caucus because we could not find a place for ourselves in the to-date one. All democratic initiatives were firmly opposed. We were a minority and were blocked. One could not pursue politics in such alignments any longer.

"If our move fails, we stand ready to create a new party composed of people who will back this direction of real renewal."

Farmers Solidarity Protests Procurement Limits

LD2601182890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Presidium of the National Council of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers Solidarity passed a resolution expressing opposition to and indignation at the limitation on procurement of livestock and milk by the still monopolized procurement points, meat enterprises, and dairies. We call upon the government, the resolution reads, to intervene decisively to prevent such situations from arising, for they lead to shops being stripped bare, limitations on production, and increased social tension.

TU Alliance Chief Supports Mazowiecki

LD2601210490 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Poznan, Jan. 26—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz said that there is no other altenrative for the government of Premier Mazowiecki. Thus he wishes him to be in power for at least four years. An alternative to this government could be a real, tough dictatorship and the rule of the right, said he.

Addressing a congress of the Trade Union of Printing Industry Employees in Poznan, Miodowicz said that the OPZZ has an alternative programme of social protection to the economic programme of Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz which he will present to the premier in several days time.

Miodowicz criticized the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] group at the Sejm for "dilatoriness, lack of political boldness and wavering." He also announced that trade unions will create their own floor group at the Sejm.

Miodowicz also said that there is a possibility of staging a congress of trade unions affiliated in the OPZZ in June.

Mazowiecki Appeals to Farmers Solidarity

LD2812154289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1258 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] In the course of a meeting in the Office of the Council of Ministers with the leadership of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers "Solidarity," Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki appealed to farmers to see the economic affairs of our country as a whole. He also said that agriculture is at the center of the government's attention and that it cannot (?improve) with such high inflation. That is why this disadvantageous economic phenomenon must be overcome. During the meeting, the general situation in agriculture and attitudes to Leszek Balcerowicz' program were discussed, among other things.

Militia TU, Kiszczak Reach Agreement

LD2601233690 Warsaw PAP in English 2310 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Militia Trade Unionists Issue Communique"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—The Presidium of the National Coordinating Commission of Trade Unions of Militiamen met with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, today.

The following arrangements were adopted:

The National Coordinating Commission of Militiamen's Trade Unions is hereby considered the sole representation of the interests of Militiamen, until the Law on Trade Unions of 1982 and the Law on Security Service and Militiamen of 1985 are amended. It was agreed that action taken in the past to hamper and disinform with regard to the founders of the Militiamen's trade unions went against the intentions and orders of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The ministry fully accepts the activities of the trade unions, even though current legal solutions in this respect lag behind.

It was agreed that re-hiring of servicemen dismissed for political convictions, trade union activity and the like will be reviewed by commissions (to be attended by Militiamen Trade Union representatives). In specific cases the commission should address the minister of internal affairs to enact solutions taking into account social dignity and justice.

Malopolska Solidarity Chairman Elected

LD1401034990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The participants in the second extraordinary assembly of delegates of the Independent self-Governing Trade Union solidarity of the Malopolska region, which is being held in Krakow, have elected a chairman of the regional board. Following the second round of voting; current Chairman Stefan Jurczak was elected.

In a talk with a PAP journalist, he said, among other things: I am of the opinion that the main task of Solidarity is the defense of working people. The union itself ought to concentrate on professional and social issues.

Wloclawek Solidarity Disapproves of Local Leaders

LD1501222490 Warsaw PAP in English 1651 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 15—The local Solidarity chapter in the central Polish province of Wloclawek passed a vote of no confidence for the leadership of the municipal office in the town of Wloclawek in response to repeated demands by factory Solidarity organizations in the Kujawy and Dobrzyn area.

The resolution says that the attitude of local authorities generates common disapproval as they make no efforts to have an influence on stabilizing the market within their powers and capacities.

Solidarity National Congress Set for 19-24 Apr

LD1801051590 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 17— The Solidarity National Executive Commission discussed problems of privatization of the national economy at its meeting here today.

Lech Walesa, attending the meeting, favoured prompt creation of possibilities for developing private initiative and stressed that slight are the chances today that society will massively buy shares of great industrial enterprises.

Walesa expressed disapproval for the government's one-directional actions in fighting inflation only through the liberalization of prices.

The Executive Commission analyzed the socio-political situation in Poland after two weeks of the new economic order in connection with growing unrest and miner's strikes.

The commission made changes in its composition and in the composition of the Presidium following the election of new regional Solidarity leaders. Michal Boni (the central region of Mazowsze) and Edward Radziewicz (Western Pomerania Region) were included in the composition of the National Executive Commission Presidium.

Nobody supported Walesa's motion to include Andrzej Slowik (the central city of Lodz) in the Presidium.

The Executive Commission assessed the state of preparations for the 2nd National Solidarity Congress. The date of the congress was set for April 19 to 24.

The commission adopted a number of documents in which it expressed, among other things, concern about the scale of recent price hikes and its disapproval for the voivodship people's council in Gdansk which has refused to carry out a local referendum on the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec.

The Solidarity Executive Commission appealed to Poland's president to use his powers with a view to solving the aggravating conflict.

Voivodes Hold 2-Day Conference

LD1501234890 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 15—A two-day conference of voivodes was held at Jadwisin near Warsaw, the government press office has reported.

On the first day of the conference, chaired by minister-head of the office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak, the voivodes held consultations in connection with the planned reform of local self-government and local state administration.

On the second day, the conference discussed questions of local budgets in the past year and conditions under which the budget would be pursued this year. The debate was chaired by Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

Balcerowicz provided appropriate reports and explanations and pointed to the need of austerity in the fnancial econmy and credit policy to curb inflation, this particularly concerning budget expenditures in the first months of this year.

The voivodes discussed also tasks of local state administration related to implementing the law on employment and a new organization of welfare services, and the operation of the home market following moves to demonopolize and privatize it. These tasks were outlined by Ministers Jacek Kuron and Aleksandr Mackiewicz.

Problems of changes in the system of spatial development and housing policy were presented by undersecretary of state at the ministry of spatial economy and building Adam T. Kowalewski.

Polish State Administration Faces Change

LD1701205790 Warsaw PAP in English 1855 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—Speaking about the condition of the state administration, State Secretary in the council of Ministers Office Jerzy Kolodziejski told PAP that in general it was not good. "130,000 state administration employees outside Warsaw act in very difficult conditions, in the changing realities, under the pressure of new tasks and problems," he said.

"At the same time, they are well aware of the forthcoming general restructuring of the local administration. Feelings of insecurity have appeared, and this concerns mainly the basic links where the state administration is to be replaced with the self-government one. There are also numerous conflicts created by the new political situation. They came as a result of the administration—being subject to pressure by new political coalition.

"According to our assessments, more or less 50 percent of voivodships are coping well under these complex circumstances. There are however administration voivodship and basic links who unfortunately understand the principle of loyalty formulated by the prime minister as passive waiting for changes. I think that the majority of the present staff will work for new self-government administration as there are no experienced cadres.

"The changes will also cover the voivodship level where cuts are expected. There are plans to man only one post of deputy voivode, and to create administrative regions as an auxiliary link of voivodship offices.

"The local state administration will also have to settle new problems like unemployment or social welfare, but the supreme goal of changes is to improve the functioning of the state," Kolodziejski said.

Jaruzelski on Nuclear Plant Referendum

LD1801224290 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—Answering an appeal sent by the Solidarnosc National Executive committee to President Wojciech Jaruzelski to make use of constitutional powers in order to solve the conflict concerning the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, the president's press spokesman said that the decision not to conduct a local referendum on the power plant taken by the voivodship people's council in Gdansk did not violate the law.

In connection with this the president does not have any grounds to undermine the decision.

Oswiecim Proclaimed Ecological Catastrophe Region

LD2501020890 Warsaw PAP in English 2258 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Bielsko-Biala, Jan. 24—The Municipal People's Council in Oswiecim (southern Poland) passed a resolution proclaiming the town a region of ecological catastrophy.

The resolution is based on the analysis of the air, soil and water pollution deteriorating year after year, on the health condition of local residents and slight progress in implementation of the programmes on environmental protection adopted in 1983 and in 1987.

Siwicki Withdraws Polish Troops From Armenia

LD2501210790 Warsaw PAP in English 1505 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Following the developments in Armenia, Poland's minister of national defence General Florian Siwicki took the decision on return of Polish soldiers from Armenia to Poland, the Defence Ministry's spokesman announced.

A group of 182 soldiers, mainly from the military construction enterprise of the Polish town of Zabrze, have been staying in Kirovakan since last September and building a kindergarten there within the relief aid after the tragic earthquake last year.

Constant telephone communication is being maintained with the Polish soldiers working in Armenia. All of them are well and the region where they are staying is quiet. REF: ld2601054890 warsaw pap english 252355—ussr's katushev meets with swiecicki, balcerowicz

Jaruzelski Receives USSR's Katushev 26 Jan

LD2601233890 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Soviet minister for economic relations with abroad Konstantin Katushev.

Minister Katushev and Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki, who also participated in the meeting, informed the president on the results of the hitherto work on changing the model and economic mechanisms of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation and their adjustment to the lines of economic reforms which are being introduced in both countries. The changes include, among other things, gradual introduction of settlements in free exchanges.

Against this background presented were the assumptions of Polish- Soviet economic cooperation in the years 1991-1995.

The sides voiced a concordant opinion that a broadening, modernization and an increased effectiveness of Polish-Soviet economic-trade cooperation should contribute to a successful implementation of the economic reforms in both countries.

Talks End

LD2701023190 Warsaw PAP in English 2340 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—Soviet Minister for Economic Relations with abroad Konstantin Katushev wound up his two day working talks in Poland. The talks focused on current issues of economic and trade cooperation between Poland and the USSR including the fixing of the 1990 volume of trade, trade balance and conditions for starting to settle the accounts in free exchanges.

No agreement was reached as to the level of mutual trade turnover in 1990. The Polish side holds the view that its surplus should be some 200 million roubles while the partner is of the opinion that Poland's surplus should be up to 1.4 billion roubles to finance the commodity surplus.

Discrepancies also surfaced as to the question of switching to settlements in free exchanges. In line with the earlier assumptions, some 10-15 per cent of the total value of turnover this year will be settled through clearing in dollars. However, the two sides differ in the interpretation of what is the world price, according to the Polish side, these are world market prices excluding prices of raw materials which are determined at commodity exchanges. The Soviet partner views as the world prices the prices of analogous commodities on international markets which, in practice, means correcting their level by state commissions.

The sides reached an agreement on settling the payment for food deliveries to the Soviet troops stationed in Poland.

The talks also dealt with this year's imports of some raw materials including crude oil. The Soviet side confirmed that over the first three months of this year the crude oil deliveries would be cut by 700,000-900,000 tons. Minister Katushev assured journalists that the annual deliveries will be maintained at the level adopted in the long-term trade protocol. The minister blamed the USSR's inability to stick to the terms of the agreement on extraordinary, unfavourable circumstances.

The working talks will be continued and their date will be set in the immediate future.

Havel Arrives for Official Visit 25 Jan

LD2501093190 Warsaw PAP in English 0849 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25 (PAP)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel arrived here today on one-day working visit.

At the Okecie Airport Vaclav Havel and persons accompanying him were greeted by Polish President Wojceich Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD2501115390 Warsaw PAP in English 0919 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, now on one-day visit to this country [Poland], started political talks.

President of Poland and Czechoslovakia, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Vaclav Havel, respectively, met at the Belvedere here just before 10:00 hrs.

Talks With Mazowiecki

LD2501115490 Warsaw PAP in English 1130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at his residence here today.

The two politicians met officially for the first time last Monday during Prime Minister Mazowiecki's working visit to Czechoslovakia.

Further on Mazowiecki Talks

LD2501221990 Prague CTK in English 1815 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw Jan 25 (CTK Correspondent)—The discussions of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski were "businesslike, open and intensive", Czechoslovak president's spokesman Michael Zantovsky told CTK here today.

Havel's meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was very cordial. The representatives discussed above all economic issues. The talks were attended also by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky and presidential advisers Sasa Vondra and Richard Wagner. The Polish side was represented by Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski.

The participants in the meeting had similar or identical opinions as regards bilateral relations. The position of the two countries in Europe and their return to the all-European community, Zantovsky said.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Vaclav Havel also discussed the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and its further development both from the economic and political point of view. They underlined that external economic relations between the CMEA countries are free both as regards bilateral relations and contacts to other countries or group of states.

In spite of the differences in the two countries' economic structures, their economies supplement each other which creates good prerequisites for further cooperation, Zantovsky said.

In the afternoon President Vaclav Havel laid a wreath at the grave of Catholic Priest Jerzy Popieluszka who was killed by members of Polish secret police in 1984.

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The Czechoslovak president also visited the Warsaw theatre "Teatr Powszechny" where he had a cordial discussion with its actors.

Teatr Powszechny staged Vaclav Havel's one-act plays "Audience", "Protest" and "Opening Night" in 1981. After 11 months after the declaration of the state of emergency they were banned.

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Vaclav Havel pointed here today to the need for perfect coordination between Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and other East European countries in their effort for a return to Europe.

Addressing a special session of the Polish parliament he underlined that these countries should not compete and strive to be the first to become member of a European body but to support each other in this effort. It is hard to envisage now what institutional forms this East European or Central European coordination will create, Vaclav Havel said, and informed participants in the session about his intention to invite representatives of the Polish and Hungarian state and public and observers from other Central European and East European countries to the Bratislava Castle to discuss this issue.

Meets With OKP's Geremek

LD2501222290 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, jan. 25—Right after his address to both houses of the Polish Parliament Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel met with chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor group (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek.

Further on Geremek Meeting

LD2601051690 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's official visit to Poland lasted 12 hours. Previously, he had come to Poland as a student 33 years ago, in 1957, after well- known events in October of that year, known as the "Polish October," when mass protests against distortions of socialism took place in this country.

This time, he came to Poland as head of the neighbouring state at the invitation from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski with whom he had talks immediately after his arrival here by plane. Next, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was interlocutor of the Czechoslovak guest. This was their second meeting this week, the previous one had been held in Prague last Monday.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Vaclav Havel delivered speeches at a joint meeting of the two houses of the Polish Parliament. After Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, the Czechoslovak president was the third foreign statesman over the past few years to attain this honour. [passage omitted]

The joint meeting of both houses of Parliament which was addressed by Jaruzelski and Havel lasted an hour.

Addressing Havel, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said that in him he welcomes a politician and statesman who for 30 years persistently fought for transformations in his country, and an outstanding playwright.

The Sejm speaker voiced a conviction that the new era in Czechoslovakia's history opened by the election of Havel for president, would open a new quality in relations with Poland.

In the name of both Houses of Parliament, Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski bid the Czechoslovak president farewell, telling him "stay on with us longer, our friend."

"One must break the run of misfortunes when one nation does wrong to another and harms it in a way remembered by generations. If we reverse this trend we will be able to begin a new phase in our history," Stelmachowski told Havel.

President Havel's visit to Parliament next included a meeting with chairman of the OKP Citizen's Parliament Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek. Both were surrounded by newsmen following the meeting. Asked about his proposal for a meeting to be held between representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in Bratislava, Havel said: "The institutional forms of our future cooperation cannot at the moment be foreseen. This can only be the result of many talks. I cannot decide these matters by myself."

"What the president spoke about in the Sejm was the subject of our talks. I consider his speech as extremely important not only because it contained a tribute to Solidarnosc and Poland but because it opens a future for Czechoslovakia, for Poland and perhaps the world," Geremek told the newsmen.

Asked why Havel did not meet with Lech Walesa, Geremek stated that he relayed very cordial greetings from Lech Walesa to President Havel and that Walesa hopes to meet the president personally. "I have also received greetings from President Havel for Lech Walesa which I will pass on immediately," Geremek said. [passage omitted]

Havel Addresses Sejm

LD2501220190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Speech by CSSR President Vaclav Havel at the Sejm in Warsaw on 25 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Marshals, esteemed deputies and senators, dear friends. I am very happy that the first parliament abroad where I have the honor to speak is namely the Polish Sejm. This is not just by chance. This means something and I assume that you know what.

Allow me a brief personal introduction. I am in Poland for the second time. The first time I was here was in 1957 as a student on a student's visit. This was after your well-known Pazdziernik [October, relating to the events of 1956]. Your country then lived on happy hopes which were consequently so often and so harshly suppressed, and I was then fascinated by everything Polish. I read Hlasko, Milosz, Herbert, Kolakowski, Brandys, Adolf Rudnicki who wrote about Holocaust, anti-semitism, and the curse of our part of Europe. I watched Wajda's Sewers several times. I admired the liberal-minded Polish spirit and the special heroism of Polish culture which struck and which, somewhere deep in my soul, was dearer to me than everlasting skeptism, and sometimes even the cult of mediocrity and downtrodden spirit which appear so often in Czech literature. Though I myself then began writing so-called absurd plays full of skeptism, ridiculous horror, and inconspicuously bad endings, my admiration of the Polish ethos surprisingly did not clash with my literary view of the world.

So I am here today, after 33 years, for the second time, and moreover as the Czechoslovak president.

Necessarily, I asked myself what has changed in these 33 years in your country, in our country, and generally in our part of the world.

The most important change is that the time of periodically arising and periodically disappointed hopes, a rotation of everlasting illusions and disillusions, and the evil dance of freedom through death has ended once and for all.

This is the first time when it seems certain that democracy and freedom, justice and national independence, are being victorious and that the process leading to it can no longer be reversed.

This certainly is based above all on the fact that our efforts to liberate ourselves are not solitary attempts in a surrounding empire which lacks understanding, but that they join in one common stream.

The changes which the Polish nation has achieved—despite all the temporary defeats, the important changes in the Soviet Union, the efforts to achieve democratic conditions in Hungary and the GDR, our gentle revolution in Czechoslovakia, the heroic and dearly paid for victory of the Romanians over Dracula's autocracy, and finally the movement which we have lately witnessed in Bulgaria—all this unites the flow which cannot be stopped anymore by any kind of barrage.

Heaven on Earth has not yet come about and will probably never come about. Such an idea could only have been entertained in the vain minds of those who are convinced that they understand everything, that there is no higher heavenly institution, and that they can rule history. Heaven on Earth has not yet come about and we will still face many difficult moments. Only a realistic hope has won that we will together return to Europe as free, independent, and democratic states and nations. This is good.

Who of us was able to imagine something like this just 12 years ago? Do you remember, Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, and Jan Lipinski, our first secret meeting at the Czechoslovak-Polish border? [applause] Then we were, both us and you, so-called dissidents, the people persecuted by police, imprisoned, and ridiculed. Though we laughed at our guards and enjoyed eluding them, if somebody had said to us that in just 12 years time we will be deputies, ministers, and presidents, we would probably have laughed at him even more. [applause] Nevertheless, this has happened.

The totalitarian systems of the Soviet bloc are collapsing and we who did nothing more than to say loudly what we thought—and were prepared to be imprisoned for this—are suddenly finding ourselves in honorable state offices and we can laugh mostly only when television cameras do not film us. [applause]

Our main task—and now I am not just speaking about my Polish and Czechoslovak friends but our entire nations—is to think together what to do with the freshly gained victory.

Before I say a few words about this I have to deviate for a while. Our Czechoslovak revolution, which started with the November massacre of students, but which otherwise was surprisingly peaceful and fast, has been called gentle, friendly, peaceful, and affectionate. We are naturally happy that there were so few victims in our country, but this makes us remember even more the nations which had to pay for their freedom with blood, and without the sacrifices of which we could hardly awaken so quickly and quite painlessly into our freedom.

In my New Year speech I stressed—and I repeat it here—that the Hungarians and Poles also bled for us, and that we know this very wel and will not forget it. [applause] In a certain sense, the romanians too paid for us, even though their revolution occurred after ours. Who knows Whether the dark forces in our country would have launched a counterattack if they had not been paralyzed by the Romanian example, which showed that the people are also able to defend themselves courageously in this way.

In short, although no one helped us directly in our revolution, which is a truly historical precedent in our country, we know well that without the many years of struggle by the Poles, without the self-liberating efforts of the nations of the Soviet Union, and without the moments from the German uprising in 1953 and the Hungarian one in 1956, we could hardly enjoy our newly town freedom today, and the relatively smooth way in which everything happened.

We naturally also know that it was Polish Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, which was the first to find a peaceful and at the same time effective way of continuous resistance against the totalitarian system.

We also do not forget that it was you, the Polish Senate and Sejm, who as a first last summer condemned the shameful invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. [applause]

Allow me to thank you and the entire Polish nation from this place. I have promised to briefly analyze the tasks which the new situation places before us. There are many of them. Above all, we want to utilize the fact that our nations now have the prospect of real and authentic friendship after many years and decades. Old arguments, rivalry, and animosity are superimposed by the joint experience of totalitarianism. [applause] the So-called druzhba, this formal attempt at friendship within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, directed from above, disappears with the totalitarian systems. With them disappears the inconspicuous, quiet, and malicious instigation of nationalist selfish moods which were evoked according to the slogan of divide and rule. The years of analogous destiny and a similar fight for similar ideals should today valorize themselves in a real friendship and mutual respect. That is exactly what was typical during the years of secretly carrying knapsacks full of independent literature through our common mountain, and this led to the fall festival of Czechoslovak independent culture in Vratislav which was so successful, thanks to mainly the untiring members of Polish-Czechoslovak solidarity, Zbyszek Janas and Mirek Jasinski, and which involuntarily became one of the preludes of our Czechoslovak revolution. From this really authentic friendship, based on a really good understanding of the fate which was enforced on us jointly, on the common lesson which we have learned from it, and mainly on the main ideals which connected us, a good coordination of our policy should ultimately grow, the process which you and we call the return to Europe.

At this point we should coordinate our effort jointly with Hungary—I am going there tomorrow with my colleagues, and it is not an accident—and also with the other nations of our part of Europe.

We should not fight to see who will get ahead of whom and who would fight his way through earlier to this or that European body. On the contrary, we should help each other in this effort in the spirit of the same solidarity with which in worse times you protested against our persecution and we against yours.

It is currently difficult to envisage what institutional forms will be created by our East European or Central European coordination. West Europe is much further into integration processes and should each of us return to Europe on our own it would probably take much longer. It would also probably be much more complicated than if we proceed in mutual accord. This concerns not only the economy—it actually concerns everything, including disarmament talks.

In the near future I would like to invite various Polish and Hungarian representatives of the state and the public, and perhaps also observers from other Central European Countries, to Bratislava Castle where we could talk together in peace about these things. Perhaps we shall be a bit wiser by then. Anyhow, one thing is certain: For the first time we have a realistic historical chance that we shall fill the huge political vacuum which came into being in central Europe after the breakdown of the Habsburg realm with something meaningful. We have a chance to change Central Europe, a phenomenon which so far was only historical and spiritual, into a political phenomenon.

We have a chance to change the wreath of European states, which until recently were colonized by the Soviets and which today are striving for friendship with the USSR based on equality, into a certain special element, which will approach the richer Western Europe not as a poor apostate or an amnested prisoner looking around powerlessly, but as somebody who is contributing something too—that is spiritual and ethical stimuli, courageous peace initiatives, unused creative potential, [word indistinct] of freshly gained freedom, and inspiration for courageous and speedy solutions. We have awoken and we have to wake up those in the West who slept through our awakening. This is a task which we shall carry out better the more united we are.

If we want to think about synchronizing or coordinating our steps on the path toward Europe, we must of course have a clear idea of what in fact should be at the end of this path—which Europe we are in fact approaching. A general ideal is probably clear to all of us. We wish to be part of a Europe representing a friendly community of independent nations and democratic states; a Europe which is stable, not divided in blocs and pacts; a Europe which does not need the protection of superpowers because it is capable of defending itself, and capable of building its own security system. There is a chance that the Soviet Union, in the interest of good relations with its former satellites, will gradually withdraw its troops from their territories. Appropriate talks are already under way. [applause] And sooner or later they will be successful.

I think that the Helsinki process represents for us rather a good starting point. If this process is speeded up and intensified, it could, in parallel with various disarmament talks as well as unilateral disarmament initiatives, grow into something which could play the role of a peace conference or a peace pact as a final end behind World War II, the Cold War, and the artificial division of Europe which were rooted in the world war. Then the two military pacts could be dissolved and the process of an all-Europe integration would open up through this once and for all.

So far Europe is divided, and Germany is divided. These are the two sides of the same coin. It is hardly possible to imagine an undivided Europe with divided Germany, and at the same time it is harldy possible to imagine a unified Germany in a divided Europe. The two processes of unification should evidently be carried out jointly and if possible quickly.

One of the keys to a peaceful Europe lies in its very center—Germany. The Germans have done a lot for all of us. They have begun to tear down the wall which separates us from the ideal we yearn for—that of a Europe without any walls, iron curtains or barbed wire fences.

Mindful of the topical significance which the German question holds for all of us, and mindful of the fact that without peace in Germany, none of us can live in peace, I made a short trip of a few hours, shortly after being elected president, to the two German states in order to find out how the Germans themselves see their own situation and that of Europe, and also to stress how closely the destiny of all of us is tied to the destiny of Germany. I came away with good impressions: sensible people in both the German states want the same as all of us—a peaceful path to a democratic and peaceful Europe. I believe that this good impression of mine is good news for you too, who had to sacrifice many more human lives in World War II than we did, and who are therefore rightly less trusting than I am of the Germans, even though most of them now are only the descendants of the generation of those who murdered you.

Moreover, I will not hide the fact that many of my Czechoslovak compatriots are also less trusting than I am. It is also for their sake that the first visit I made was to Germany, because I have made a resolution to try to be, as far as my modest possibilities allow, a kind of spreader of trust in today's untrusting world. And since I am here talking about Germany, it is my pleasant duty to assure you that democratic Czechoslovakia too considers the Oder-Neisse border final and inviolable. [applause]

Moreover I believe that the borders of the Europe of the future should become increasingly less important, that people should be able to pass freely from one country to another, and that this ought to apply first and foremost to our joint border. [applause]

On the other hand, what should no longer pass across our border is poisonous smoke, sulphur, and acid rain, whether from Stonava [coking plant] or Turoszow [power station].

There are, however, even more dangerous walls than those which divide Europe, and they are the walls which separate individual people from each other, and which divide our own souls. These are the walls I want to work at above all, and this applies mainly to my own country, because the most dangerous adversary of the common good in our country is no longer the dark forces of totalitarianism, various hostile and scheming mafias, but our own bad qualities. Therefore, my policy as president is to breathe into politics a spiritual dimension, moral responsibility, humaneness, humility, and regard for the fact that above us there is something higher, that our actions do not fade away into the black hole of time, but are being noted and evaluated somewhere—we do not know where—and, therefore, we have neither the right nor any reason to believe that we understand everything and are therefore capable of everything. [applause]

I believe that the Poles, with their strong religiosity embodied in the magnificent figure of the pope, whom they have given to the world, will understand these modest presidential ideas of mine. [applause]

Thirty-three years ago, I spent 2 weeks on the coast. Today, I am in Warsaw itself, that brave heart of Poland. I would be glad if this meant that not only I personally, but above all the movements and ideas which I represent, are today commensurately closer to the Polish heart.

Thank you for your attention, and I will conclude by declaring those glorious words: Poland has not yet perished. [Last five words spoken in Polish] [applause]

Talks With GDR on Border Waters Protection

LD2701023690 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—Polish Minister of Environmental Protection Bronislaw Kaminski and GDR Ambassador to Poland Juergen van Zwoll positively sized up the state of cooperation in water economy and the protection of border waters at their meeting today.

This cooperation is already of long-standing tradition, is fairly well organized and carried out by concrete people. However, the GDR is concerned over the possibility of a landslide at the excavation of the Turow opencast mine and the related danger of masses of earth blocking the course of the Nysa Lucycka River.

Poland conducts intensive protection work. At the same time, GDR and Polish experts work jointly to determine the selection of the best variant to remove this threat.

Rally To Support NSF Held in Bucharest 29 Jan

Iliescu Address

AU2901122290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report on speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council, at rally of support for NSF in Bucharest on 29 January]

[Text] [Announcer] We begin the newscast with reportage from Victory Square:

[Reporter] Early this morning thousands of Bucharest inhabitants and citizens from neighboring counties—Constanta, Prahova, Giurgiu—came to Victory Square in front of the headquarters of the National Salvation Front [NSF] to express endorsement for and solidarity with the NSF. Present are representatives of large Bucharest enterprises, such as 23 August, Republica, UMAP [abbreviation unknown], Progresul, Garments and Knitwear Enterprise, and workers on building sites, who are chanting for the Front and want to express this solidarity. At around 1100 [0900 GMT], that is, an hour ago, NSF Council President Ion Iliescu addressed the rally:

[Begin Iliescu recording] Esteemed citizens, I want to thank you all for these warm sentiments of friendship, empathy, and solidarity. [cheers, chants] We need your support very much at this difficult time for the country. [cheers, chants]

Only in close cooperation with the people will we be able to fulfill our obligation. [cheers] We are ready to do all we can to fulfill our responsibilities. [cheers, chants] This can only be done through close links with the people, with the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the young people. [cheers, chants]

We want to achieve unity in the work and life of all honest people in this country so as to defend everything we cherish most dearly—namely the fatherland, freedom, and democracy. [cheers, chants]

All we need now is to have peace, so as to be able to work and struggle to bring about a recovery of the national economy, without which one cannot talk about democracy, true freedom, or comprehensive development of the human personality. [cheers, chants]

We do not want to exclude anyone from our life and from our people's peaceful work. We do not want to exclude anyone from our democracy. However, in order to accomplish this, we require a climate of calm and understanding. [cheers, chants]

I thank you once more for coming here and I want to tell you that the Front is solidly standing on its own feet. [cheers, chants] The Front is not in danger. [cheers, chants]

Yesterday we overcame a difficult moment, which, however, could not have destroyed either the Front—that is, our new power established in the country—or the Front's positions. [cheers, chants]

We remain open to all political forces. We hold out our hand to everyone for a dialogue, so that everyone can find his own place, alongside us, in the constructive work. [cheers, chants]

At this particular time the country does not need tension and confrontation. I call upon you to approach the present situation with calm and confidence and to defend the necessary quiet in the country so that it will be possible to work and solve the difficult problems facing us. At this time the NSF leadership and the government continue to examine a number of measures designed to improve the lot of the people, workers, peasants, and other categories. We want to improve the economic life and solve a number of social problems. However, in the last instance, the main prerequisite for making progress and improving living standards is a climate of tranquillity so we can work to solve the economic problems facing us. We must produce, we must produce the commodities required by the people. [cheers, chants]

We thank you for your support. Our sole guideline is our duty to the people. We will strive to fulfill this duty. However, we will always need your support. We thank you in advance. [cheers, chants]

We do not need aggressive words. On the contrary, we are for a peaceful life and for constructive relations among all our people. [cheers, chants]

Thank you all once more. Some affairs of state require our attention. Mr Roman is in a government session devoted to some current affairs. In about half an hour he will also come here to greet you. [cheers, chants] [end recording]

Roman Address

AU2901135690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman at rally of National Salvation Front supporters in Bucharest on 29 January—recorded]

[Text] Brothers, I want to tell you a few things of direct concern for our life. [cheers]

I want to tell you a few things that we have to solve together. Every one of us knows what we have inherited from the dictatorship. The worst thing we inherited is your standard of living, your social situation, and your working conditions. From the moment we assumed this responsibility, we began talks with many people from the most diverse places around the country and from the most diverse social categories—miners, workers, and steel workers. Well, from these talks, I learned something that I was not aware of—namely, that the working and living conditions have reached an impossible and unacceptable level. The task we have assumed for ourselves is to try to bring the living standard to an acceptable level.

The situation is also very difficult because our economy, as we inherited it from the madman, cannot sustain an immediate increase in living standards. You see, hundreds and thousands of enterprises were created without thinking how, on what basis, with what resources, and with what skills they should operate. However, thousands, scores of thousands of people are working there. These people have to earn their living, a decent one. [cheers, chants]

Please, what I now want is to tell you what the situation is and what we must do together to solve it. [cheers, chants]

We began to carefully examine all your claims, which come from various social sectors. However, this does not mean that if we started talks with some of you, we are not thinking of all of you. All these problems are really most difficult. The people can no longer live as they have until now. They must have a feeling that something has changed. This is the responsibility we have assumed.

In these circumstances, when, believe me, we are spending every minute searching for a solution, we also had to contend with a political struggle, which, unfortunately, was carried out using unfair means. It is a pity that, instead of waiting for the elections to decide the people's will...[changes thought] it is difficult to strive to maintain the stability of the economy and the country and also be engaged in political strife. I would even say that this is not fair.

The fact that you are here is the greatest and most important moral support for us. [cheers, chants]

Brothers, you must know that we did not give in yesterday because we knew you are with us. [cheers, chants]

It is no mere idle talk when we say that we are with you and you are with us. This means that we have pledged to you to raise living standards. This means that we are assuming such a responsibility and the inherent burdens; we are not interested in political power. [cheers, chants]

Therefore, I would like to talk about the country's socioeconomic situation, about my responsibilities and the state of affairs; maybe I will do that this afternoon. I want to talk about our hardships and how we can try to overcome them. Believe me, if I now beg you for a different kind of help, to maintain the productive apparatus functioning—that is, to work honestly and fairly, without anyone being whipped into doing it. [cheers, chants] If we do this, let us do it on an equal footing, because, believe me, we are also working here under most difficult conditions: on the one hand, we are constantly afraid of losing oversight over the economy, on the other hand we must always take care not to give reason for all kinds of accusations, such as that we want to monopolize power, that we are assuming all kinds of rights, and so forth. We have assumed only one right, the one entrusted to us by the revolution, namely to maintain the stability of the country and to make it function. Do we deserve to hear certain people tell us day by day that we must go? Why should we do that? [cheers, chants]

After an open and frank dialogue with the representatives of these parties, we said and we agreed that this NSF Council should express all its opinions, because this is the right thing to do; it should express all its opinions and each person should give his opinion on the well-being of the country. There are many young people in this country; as a matter of fact, the great majority of people are young, and they must have the chance to give their point of view. They should give us their opinion, because, indeed, it is difficult for us to work alone. But everybody should understand it, even those who are still suspicious of us. Maybe their suspicions are justified since people are afraid of what has been in the past, and if they are afraid they should know very well why they are afraid. We should tell everybody that this burden that we carry on our shoulders should be carried until we reach the moment when people can have their say through the elections, through free and equal elections for all. [cheers, chants]

I beg you to do all you can in the coming days, just as you did last night. After things settled down here last night, I had to go to a meeting with 150 railway workers and locomotive mechanics who had been waiting for me for 24 hours. They were the representatives of 22,000 locomotive mechanics in Bucharest and throughout the country, who came to assure us of their support for the Front and for our cause, but also to tell us their problems. They have very serious problems. But serious problems can be found everywhere.

In the coming days, we must learn about everyone's problems and difficulties and try to solve them in accordance with our possibilities. I am not making promises in vain. I promise and pledge to you that we will do everything possible and everything within our power because we do not have any other goal. We did not come here for anything else. How have we reached this position? Has anybody helped us in any way? Have those who do not know how we reached this position helped us? [unintelligible chants] I believe that...[interrupted by cheers, chants] we struggle with our difficulties; we have had great difficulties since the moment we won the revolution. And we solved everything alone. We have not required any help from anybody. We do not want any help now either. But for this, the country has to move forward and give its opinion about the current state of our economy. People should know that if they work, they work for themselves; they work to improve their living conditions and to see their interests represented. That is why we are here now.

I beg you from my heart, in a human way, let us turn and show everybody that we are civilized and that we can accomplish what we proposed for ourselves. We want indeed to be a democracy. We want to eliminate everything, absolutely everything, that the misfortune of the past dictatorship represented. We are doing it, step by step. Less then 40 days have passed since the revolution won. In 40 days we accomplished a great deal. Everything we have done is the proof of our capabilities. We do not need to defend ourselves in this respect. But the destabilization that has almost been provoked by these political actions, this destabilization would mean that nothing of what we wished for can be achieved. Let us prove that we want to ensure our achievements! [cheers, chants]

Once again, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Without you we would not be here today. [cheers, chants] Once again I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and let all of us return to our duties. Goodbye. [cheers, chants]

Second Address by Iliescu

AU2901195390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council, at rally of NSF supporters in Bucharest on 29 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed friends, [cheers, chants] we thank you from the bottom of our hearts for these manifestations of solidarity with the Front. [cheers, chants]

Whoever had the impression that the National Salvation Front is a shaky and frail establishment that can be easily overthrown has, I believe, been convinced today [cheers] that it is a genuine mass movement [cheers] which enjoys the support of the broad masses of people, [cheers, chants] because it was born in the whirlpool of the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. [cheers, chants] The Front has gained the trust of the people through everything it has itself proposed to do in order to promote a true democracy, the people's democracy! [cheers, chants].

The Front holds nothing more sacred than serving the interests of the Romanian people! [cheers] We have devoted ourselves to these interests and we are determined to give our lives for them. [cheers] Our strength lies only in the people [cheers] and the unity of the people around the Front is the guarantee of our victory! [chants: "We are with the front"]

We have been accused of totalitarian tendencies [booing] and that we wanted to impose our power by force. [booing] We have stated that we remain open for an honest political struggle in conditions of democracy. [cheers]

We do not want to exclude anybody from the political life of the country and we will continue to remain open. [cheers] However, we want to work under open and frank conditions. [cheers, chants]

The sole sovereign force and the sole force that can invest somebody with power in this country is the Romanian people! [cheers, chants] That is the way in which we envisage the free elections! The people should decide! [cheers, chants]

We want to organize truly free elections which should not in any way distort the Romanian realities. [cheers] However, the major Romanian reality is the will and the wish of the Romanian people for a better life and for a democracy, in which the people should be masters of their own wealth, the national wealth! [cheers]

We do not have any other forces or other means than the support of the people. [cheers]

As long as the people support us, we will represent something. Anybody who detaches himself from the people will represent nothing in this country. We want to be faithful to the people and serve the people until our last breath! [cheers, chants] We thank you very much for your support and we pledge to live up to this trust! [cheers, chants]

Precisely because we trust the people and because we feel the force that the people represent, we do not want to resort to violence! [cheers]

We want everybody to have the chance to have an honest confrontation in the elections in which the people will decide! [cheers] What we need now is calm, confidence in our forces, work devoted to the cause of the people, and efficient work to restore the national economy. Therefore, we need calm, work, and trust—trust in our united forces, because only if we are united can we win! Unity! [cheers, chants: "United we pledge to defend the front"]

These are true chants that emerge from the bottom of our people's hearts and souls! This is the most genuine and strongest political education lesson for the masses. We instruct each other. This is the lesson of people's democracy. We do not need to answer in the same way. On the contrary. Because we are strong and powerful we answer without violence! [cheers, chants]

The character of this gathering proves the force of our workers and young people. [cheers, chants] Honors to workers! [cheers] Honors to young people! [cheers] Long live the unity in struggle of workers, young people, peasants, and of intellectuals, and of our whole nation! [cheers, chants]

Once again we thank you all! [cheers, chants, the crowd is heard singing the "Union Hora"; more cheers]

We have never given up during difficult times, we will never give up! [cheers, chants] As long as you are with us we will have the necessary force to overcome! [cheers] We hope that we will always be up to your trust! [cheers, chants] We will remain grateful to you until the end of our lives! [cheers, chants]

Once again thank you! [cheers, chants and the crowd is heard singing the "Union Hora" again]

This is the most beautiful song created by the Romanian soul. The unity is our force! For unity! [cheers, chants] Unity in our struggle to defend the interests of our country and of our people! [cheers, chants] Only in this way will we be able to triumph, in a united way! [cheers, the "Union Hora" is heard again]

Roman Speaks to Crowds at NPP Headquarters

AU2901191490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report on speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman in front of the National Peasant Party headquarters in Bucharest on 29 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We are informed that in front of the National Peasant Party [NPP] Headquarters in Bucharest, a large group is demonstrating on the one hand against yesterday's actions by the National Peasant Party and on the other hand against an announcement by Mr Corneliu Coposu, the party's president, that he feared aggressive behavior from the demonstrators. Mr Prime Minister Petre Roman came today to the NPP headquarters and held discussions with this party's leadership. He then addressed the crowd that gathered in front of the party headquarters.

[Begin Roman recording] Brothers, no matter what happens, no matter, no matter, our revolution was violent only on the part of the dictatorship. We do not have the right to be violent. [cheers] We have fought against violence, we do not want to reinstate violence. [shouts: "Without violence"]

Brothers, we should assure these people who are here... [Roman is interrupted by booing, shouts then continues] Let them leave by themselves; we should not drive them away. [unintelligible shouts]

Brothers, no matter what happens we do not have the right to mistreat these people; we do not have this right, we are not allowed to mistreat them...[Roman interrupted by unintelligible chants, then continues] it does not matter; they have exposed themselves! They have exposed themselves but we do not have the right to mistreat them! Let them leave! [chants: "They hurt us"] They hurt us, too, it is true, they hurt us. [shouts]

Let me speak. I want to say five sentences without being interrupted. [murmuring] We are not in favor of violence! Where do you think responsibility lies for what happened yesterday? We will hold talks with them and we are going to clarify these problems. [unintelligible chants]

Let me speak further. Brothers, please understand that in these moments the whole world is watching us. We ensured the success of our revolution. Please, I beg you from the bottom of my heart, let us ensure the success of democracy as well. [cheers, chants]

Brothers, I still want to tell you something. Here is a banner that reads: Out with party leaders who have not lived in the country. [interrupted by unintelligible chants] It is good. This is something possible. But you should know that among their leaders there are also people who have always been here. I do not want to defend them, God forbid. [unintelligible chants] This is a question that must be solved clearheadedly. I propose something: Right now, there is a very big gathering in the Victory Square where Mr Iliescu is speaking. I want to go there, too. Let us meet there. [cheers, chants]

Brothers, brothers, I want to assure you that the leadership of the NPP must come out of here but it must come out without violence. [chants] Please, please... [chants: "out of the country"] Brothers, let us agree on one thing: They must be able to get out of here without violence. [murmuring] Please, please, the Army has prepared a corridor where they can get out! [shouts] Something else, please, please, and we—let us meet in the Victory Square. [cheers, chants] [end recording]

[Announcer] The moving of the leadership of the National Peasant Party from the headquarters of this party has been carried out calmly and with complete security.

* Roman Cites Background, Government Goals

90EB0204A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Ion Lazar—date and place not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] Please introduce yourself to ADEVARUL's readers.
[Roman] I was born in Bucharest on 22 July 1946. My father was well known as a political scientist and particularly as an antifascist fighter with the international brigades in Spain—he was the commander of the Romanian artillery regiment. As he is no longer alive, I can tell you that he was a recognized personality in the European antifascist movement. He married my mother in Spain in 1939, so she was originally Spanish, but she became completely assimilated and now has both Romanian citizenship and nationality.

I went to the Petru Groza high school in Bucharest, then to the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute, School of Electrical Engineering, where I specialized in hydropower. I was graduated in 1968. As head of my class I was nominated for an assistantship and remained at the university. At my request I did a 4-month internship at our biggest hydropower plant, the Iron Gates. In 1969 I entered an Education Ministry contest for a scholarship to do my doctorate abroad. In December 1970 I left for France to pursue doctoral studies at the Toulouse Institute of Fluid Mechanics of the Paul Sabatier University. Between 1971 and 1974 I was enrolled in doctoral studies; I also won a competition [which allowed me] to teach in France. I defended my dissertation on 18 March 1974. The subject was "The Natural Aeration of Open

Surface Effusions." It was a theoretical dissertation in the area of fluid mechanics, but with practical implications concerning the surface pollution of rivers. I then returned home and resumed my teaching career; in 1976 I was appointed head assistant, in 1982 lecturer, and in 1983 head of the hydraulics and hydraulic machinery department. It is true that I was rather young for my teaching position. In my academic career I was greatly influenced by the academician Dumitru Dumitrescu, whom I have discussed on numerous occasions, one of them being the profile I wrote of him for the magazine SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY—as you know, such things were not allowed, but in a slightly disguised form I managed to honor his 85th birthday.

[ADEVARUL] Before going into other topics, please introduce your family.
[Roman] I married in 1975. My wife Iulia Mioara is a well-respected journalist. For 18 years she worked at the radio in the foreign broadcast department; for the past 5 years she has been a university lecturer whose specialty is Arabic language and literature. As for me, I have one sister who worked for the Fairs and Exhibitions Enterprise, a brother who is a technician with the Baneasa Enterprise for Radio Parts and Semiconductors, and another sister, younger than myself, at Rompres.

[ADEVARUL] Even at critical moments you manage to preserve your smile, sad though it may be. Is that the reflection of inner peace, or a reflexive detachment from tense moments?
[Roman] How can I tell? It is probably not a reflex, but an expression of my emotional and mental state. I hope it's inner peace. I hope it is the image of an inner balance that should be perceived as such by those I come into contact with, because I think it's the only means of ensuring interconnectedness.

[ADEVARUL] Did the fact that you were a teacher and were close to the students give you an advantage during the revolution?
[Roman] The most important, the decisive thing for me was not the contact, but my psychic and psychological connection with the young people beginning with the night of 21 to 22 December 1989. The period I weathered together with them was decisive for what I am today. I now feel differently about many things and many of my convictions have acquired a completely new coloring, if not an entirely different meaning even. What we went through together beginning with that night and through the following difficult days changed me, and I feel I belong to them.

[ADEVARUL] Did the authority of the teacher come through in the dialogue with the students and young people?
[Roman] At the time there was no dialogue. The fact that I was a university professor made a great difference, because they pushed me from the square to the balcony. But this is no longer a dialogue-type of contact. We're like people being swept together by a current, holding on to each other to survive or to be vanquished. It's much more than that. Unfortunately, since I was appointed prime minister I have had little contact or dialogue with them, except through several groups of students who came to see me. I would have liked to do more along this line, and it might also have been better if I had.

[ADEVARUL] You are very busy; the government has not yet been completely formed.
[Roman] I am indeed very busy, and very involved.

[ADEVARUL] During this first stage, what areas were emphasized in the government?
[Roman] I requested that all the ministers make serious changes in the bureaucracy and that they co-opt a large number of young people for management positions at all levels. We even have some very young ministers. The minister of the most important area, that of machine-building, which has a large production volume and number of personnel, Ion Aurel Stoica, is 45 years old and comes from Cluj. We have a first deputy minister of finance, Teodor Stolojan, who is 43. We have very many directors around 40. This is one of the first things I pushed because, as we must not forget, the propelling force of this revolution were the youth. They knew best what our society needed, which means that they must be the ones to further promote these ideas and aspirations.

[ADEVARUL] Why is the government in favor of preserving current institutions?
[Roman] Because our main task is to keep the production system running, and we cannot both change institutions and preserve the production system at the same time, that much is clear. In point of fact, the reverse may mean chaos. We have to maintain the institutions, but you must realize that in fact we have made great strides toward relieving these institutions of restrictions. The ideas we formulated regarding decentralization and free enterprise and initiative have gone very far very fast—much faster than I expected, of which I am very glad. The time will come to draw a balance sheet in this respect.

[ADEVARUL] What is the production level in various branches compared to the prerevolution period?
[Roman] The level is approximately 80 percent of capacity, but it is primarily linked to the fact that the resources-capacities cycle is no longer closed. But I can tell you that, when under the dictatorship it was said that those facilities worked at full capacity, that was a lie and the figures given were false. I would say that people work much better now, because they work in normal conditions: normal technological discipline, normal management, and the right material-technical supplies, without any arbitrary decisions and voluntarism.

[ADEVARUL] Please tell us about the alarming situation of the national power system. What measures have been taken in that area?
[Roman] First of all, we practically doubled the power delivered to consumers. Now it is somewhat over 1,000 mw, which is double what it was. We were at 6 percent of capacity and now we are at 12 percent. This is something

we won't give up. The ministries and the ministers negotiated among themselves and hammered out a very strict and very precise program concerning the production facilities that must be maintained, those that are to be repaired, and those that are to be shut down. This issue has been given a lot of thought. We should be able to manage pretty well with the power we are importing, especially from the USSR, and we are also exploring other sources and have received some serious promises. At the moment things are under control.

[ADEVARUL] What is planned concerning the labor force?
[Roman] We intend to work in several directions. This is another of the debts left by the dictator that we have to pay. In point of fact, a lot of the manpower was underutilized. People are no longer willing to put up with this social situation, and they are right. We must find the means of giving them a just social status. As we said, dignity is one of the three mottoes of the revolution.

[ADEVARUL] What about cooperation between the government and the county councils of the National Salvation Front [NSF]?
[Roman] So far there hasn't been much because these county councils have been in continual flux, so cooperation is still limited; the situation is still not well defined and the delineation of functions between the front and mayoralities is not well defined, although we tried to help wherever we could. It may be too much to talk of cooperation. It in fact reflects the situation in the counties. Clearly the state structure, including the government, is much sounder and clearer than the political one.

[ADEVARUL] The next question regards your view of the role of city halls in current economic life; can they become genuine local administrations?
[Roman] They should become genuine representations of local autonomy. It remains to be seen whether they will manage to do so.

[ADEVARUL] What will Romania's trade balance be by the end of the first quarter?
[Roman] I cannot cite precise figures and it's not my place to do so. As you can see, we are totally open in this respect, but as in any other country, some things are internally determined, and that is something we must understand. What I can tell you is that it's not something that worries us.

[ADEVARUL] Will we once again take out loans?
[Roman] We will explore the possibilities. In the first place, we need to modernize our technologies, for which we have to import machinery and, of course, this possibility will not be ignored.

[ADEVARUL] You anticipated my next question: what is your view of Romania's access to modern technology, which is currently a vital issue?

[Roman] You see, to say that we will import technologies would simply mean doing what was done 15 to 20 years ago, which was wrong. Importing technologies without having the necessary human potential to utilize them is undoubtedly the wrong thing to do. We must carefully study what we can adopt from a personnel viewpoint, meaning manpower qualifications, and must proceed in stages; we must know exactly what we want to achieve in the future, because we will certainly have to give up forever the idea of autarky and the idea that we can do everything.

[ADEVARUL] The government will represent the parties that will win in the elections. Do you intend to be a candidate?
[Roman] As I said on television, too, I will not be candidate. It's an option, and that's that.

[ADEVARUL] A few days ago we made public in ADEVARUL some of the vital problems of the printers; we carried detailed items on that and we stand by them unreservedly.
[Roman] I'm sorry, I didn't see them.

[ADEVARUL] We hope that the government will help us with a view to substantially improving the working and living conditions of the printers.
[Roman] I fully agree with you that the printers' situation is very bad. I asked the Culture Ministry—I still haven't received a reply—to make an immediate note to bring in modern equipment. We'll have to see where we get the personnel to run it. But there is probably no need for very long training. Let me give you a piece of good news: as far as paper is concerned, there are no difficult problems.

[ADEVARUL] We are very grateful to you. What message would you like to address to ADEVARUL and its readers?
[Roman] First of all, continue to restructure professionally, so as to become a modern newspaper of direct access. I have unfortunately not had enough time to read it carefully. Secondly, become a truly independent, opinionated newspaper; and, even if it does not concern you directly, since you are a newspaper, I must mention that some newspapers carried items that turned out not to have been verified; please try to engage all your professional probity in your reporting, especially when people are involved.

[ADEVARUL] Are you optimistic about the period lying ahead until the elections?
[Roman] Optimistic may be too much. Personally I am certainly an optimist. In any case, I think that our society is permeated by a healthy spirit and that people that I consider of goodwill make up the basic majority of our society. Consequently, if I stop to think, yes, I am optimistic.

Roundtable Debates Election Bill 27 Jan

AU2901124990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1209 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Election Bill Debated by Political Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—As already reported, a first round table conference to debate the election bill took place in Romania on Saturday, January 27, participated in by representatives of 28 political formations, most of them already registered parties. Standpoints on the regulations in the bill were presented during the meeting. The discussions on the election bill will continue until an agreement is reached.

In connection with the principles underlying the bill, daily ADEVARUL of January 28 gives some details. According to the provisions of the bill, the power belongs to the people and is exercised according to the Constitution in observance of the principles of democracy, freedom and human dignity, inviolability and inalienableness of the fundamental human rights. The bill also starts from the establishment of political pluralism, of separation of the legislative, executive and juridical powers, from the election of all representatives to the parliament, of Romania's president and of the representatives to local councils for one or two terms at the most. The election of the parliament, of the country's president and of the local councils is made by free, universal, equal, direct and secret vote. The principle of proportional representation of the population of all nationalities shall be observed. Romanian citizens who have completed the age of 18 have the right to elect and be elected. The minimum age of eligibility for the Senate is 30.

In connection with the future parliament the bill stipulates a bicameral structure—the Deputies' Assembly and the Senate, and a complex function, both as constituent assembly and legislative power. According to the bill's authors, Romania's president is to be elected directly by the people.

During the first conference, the representatives of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and of the National Liberal Party reiterated their known stands objecting to the legitimacy of the National Salvation Front's participation in elections, maintaining that they would thus be disadvantaged in the election campaign. They advanced a string of amendments to the bill borrowing provisions from the pre-war legislation. The representatives of other parties advanced suggestions and proposals referring to elements of conception and technicalities of the election process. Among other things, the suggestions referred to equal subsidizing of the parties in competition, the establishment of a different age for the exercising of the right to vote, the introduction of the provision that any candidate must have had residence in Romania's territory in the past ten years.

Liberal Party Denies Participation in Government

AU2701211690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Here is a communique from the National Liberal Party [NLP] in connection with the speech made by Mr President Ion Iliescu's on 25 January:

It has been said that the NLP has two representatives in the government. One should point out that the two figures referred to, Mr Mihnea Marmeliuc, minister of labor, and Mr Nicolae Gavriliescu, counselor of the Prime Minister, are NLP members. The first had been an NLP member since before World War II and the second joined the party after 22 December 1989.

However, the NLP is not represented by these two figures, which were appointed by the leadership of the government and of the National Salvation Front. We want to clarify this issue, so as to avoid confusion in connection with an NLP participation in the current government.

National Democratic, Peasant Parties' Platforms

AU2701162590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Political Parties Introduce Themselves"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] **The National Democratic Party of Romania**

The activity of the National Democratic Party of Romania is essentially aimed at promoting and observing the truth, the good and the human condition of the individual in the social context. Noteworthy among the priority targets of that party are the ensurance of legal, economic and social guarantees concerning the observance of all human rights, the reestablishment of an economic balance by resetting the ratios between production, consumption and labour, the freedom of trade-union organization by economic branches and cultural areas, the reorganization of education, the ensurance of a legal framework for the promotion of the youth in the social hierarchy.

The Romanian Peasant Party

The programme-platform of the National Peasant Party stipulates the introduction into the country's new constitution of the provisions concerning the strict observance of human rights, as enshrined in the Helsinki convention, the dissolution of democratic centralism, a comeback to the market economy, the dissolution of producer cooperative farms and giving of land to the people, the resettlement of all farmers (who are to receive two hectares per each family), the dissolution of the two military blocs, the reconstruction of cultural and historic edifices destroyed by the dictatorship, the granting of pensions to all former political detainees.

7 Democratic Parties Hold Meeting on Elections

AU2901205190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 29 Jan 90

["For the Record"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—The leader of the Democratic Unity Party, Mr. Nicu Stancescu, told a ROMPRES News Agency journalist:

In the evening of 27 January authorized representatives of seven democratic parties met to discuss and agree on the positions of their parties on the electoral bill which is being debated. Since eventually, the mass media were informed that they had formed a Democratic Centre Group, the Democratic Unity Party states that it attended the meeting only to agree on a common stance and unitary proposals for the electoral bill, not to be included in a group of parties.

NSF's Brucan Interviewed on Elections

AU3001083090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/1/1990—At a news conference on Monday, 29 January, Silviu Brucan, member of he Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front said:

From the very beginning I have stated that the Front will participate in the elections, said Mr Silviu Brucan as he referred to questions the Front has been asked most frequently. This is the evidence: in a statement made on December 29, 1989, for the newspaper "FINANCIAL TIMES" I pointed out that "the Front of National Salvation [NSF] will participate in the elections as a political force. It is not necessary for us to become a party. We shall field candidates."

Answering the question whether the NSF may be both a referee and a player in the May 20 elections, Silviu Brucan said:

"In every democratic country the government representing a certain party stays in power until the elections, a fact which does not hamper at all an individual party to participate in the elections with its whole political strength. The Front constitutes a product of a revolution and always, in the course of history, the government, which came to power after the revolution acquired its legitimacy from the role it played during the revolution and not from elections, which are in any case impossible to be held in a post-revolutionary situation. Only after that elections were held, and we are proceeding in the same way in Romania.

To explain how the NSF may take part in the elections without being a party, Mr Brucan pointed out that the revolution in Romania had an original character and that the Front was the product of this revolution and consequently it was not and could not be a party. It is a larger political entity whose members cannot fit in the rigid structures and inflexible discipline of a party. We are in the presence of a new political phenomenon which is characteristic of the new political developments taking place in Eastern Europe.

Meeting the accusation that the NSF does not yet implement the principle of separate executive and legislative powers, Mr Silviu Brucan acknowledged that the accusation was correct, but that it could be put into operation only after the elections, when a legislative power, the parliament, will come into being, independent and different from the executive power and the judiciary power.

Related to the fact that at the conclusion of the January 28 demonstration the heads of the three parties, fearing the fury of the masses, asked for military protection, Mr Silviu Brucan said: "I think that this is a lesson for them to renounce such methods and to engage in civilized discussions with us about the ways and means of solving our differences, not under the pressure of the streets, not under the pressure of organized groups, but under the pressure of arguments in a civilized discussion.

We are going to discourage any type of demonstration, said Mr Brucan.

NSF Draft Law on Elections Issued

AU3001094490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 gmt 30 Jan 90

[Text] The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] has issued a draft law on the elections of the parliament, the president of Romania, and local councils.

In accordance with the main basic principles in this document, the political power in Romania will belong to the people and will be exercised in conformity with the dispositions of the constitution, the principles of democracy, freedom, ensuring human dignity, and with the inviolability and inalienability of basic human rights.

Romania will be governed on the basis of democratic pluralism; the division of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; and on the basis of the election of political leaders in the state in conformity with the present law for one or at most two mandates.

Romania's parliament, made up of the deputies assembly and senate, the president of Romania, and the county, municipal, town, and communal councils will be elected through a universal, equal, direct, secret, and freely expressed ballot.

The draft law, which will be presented at length in later broadcasts, stipulates the mode in which the population of all nationalities is represented in parliament and local councils, the electoral rights of citizens, and the procedure for carrying out the election campaign, which begins from the publication of the election date and will end 2 days before the actual elections.

The document also stipulates the procedure for electing the parliament, the president of Romania, and for organizing the elections.

Leaders Reassure Tokes on Minority Policy

LD2901142990 Budapest MTI in English 1323 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Monday's "NEPSZAVA" carries an interview with Reformed clergyman Laszlo Tokes of Timisoara, who reported on the telephone call he had conducted with Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, and Petre Roman, prime minister, on January 25.

Mr Tokes said "in the evening of January 25, Iluescu delivered an alarming speech. Although his speech was very balanced, including gestures towards both the Romanians and the Hungarians, he practically condemned what he termed as Hungarian separatist trends in some Transylvanian counties. Shortly afterwards, Attila Palfalvi, deputy minister of education and a consistent and sober-minded advocate of the cause of Hungarians in Transylvania, was relieved of his post. I think the two events were interrelated and had an alarming effect on the Hungarians in Romania. I called up Mr Iliescu to ask for an explanation, ask him whether these events indicated a change in the political line, and react to the accusation of separatism.... I spoke with Mr Iliescu who handed over the receiver to Petre Roman. Both of them assured me that there the political line had not changed and was still marked by tolerance towards the national minorities, and the spirit of equal rights."

Tokes Responds to Leaders' Assurances

LD2901234690 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Pastor Laszo Tokes by unidentified correspondent on the "Panorama" program in Timisoara on 27 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] It appears that it was naive to assume that the victorious Romanian revolution would automatically lead to complete understanding and harmonious cooperation between the national minorities and the Romanians. The spirited rapprochement experienced during the revolution was so beautiful. But more recently we have raised our eyebrows in alarm at news reports on the servants and the beneficiaries of the Ceausescu regime who resort to the tried and tested method; they try to create a chauvinistic mood by spreading false reports. The target is always at hand: the allegedly incorrigible, separatist, antinational Magyardom. They care little about the minor fact that the Hungarians in Romania do not want to restrict anyone's rights; they only want to exercise their constitutional, national minority and human rights. By the way, they want to do this in complete accordance with the December declaration of the National Salvation Front which wanted to cast onto the rubbish heap of history the oppression of the national minorities, together with the fallen regime.

Unfortunately these reports have rather soured the joyful great event and the return of Pastor Laszlo Tokes to his parishioners in Timisoara. The world-famous pastor, whose parish served as the igniting spark on 16 December of the Romanian revolution, who stood on his feet with true Calvinist stubborness, contemptuous of death, against the enormously powerful oppressive machinery, returned to Timisoara on Thursday, 25 January, to his congregation. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] On Saturday evening he found a few minutes for us. We spoke about issues not of faith but of politics. I raised the news that Attila Palfalvi, deputy minister of education, had been replaced and that President Iliescu had publicly referred to separatism. This news is extraordinarily frightening.

[Tokes] This news did appear very frightening. I hurried to get in touch personally with President Iliescu. I told him that Magyardom was very much shocked both by the speech and by the replacement of Attila Palfalvi. I asked for an explanation, and I also specifically asked whether this meant a fundamental change in their policy. He assured me that what he had said he meant not only for the Hungarians but for both sides as regards patience, separatism, and balance.

[Correspondent] The deputy minister of education had replaced many Magyars.

[Tokes] This is the case. He then passed the receiver to Petre Roman, who explained that the emphasis was not on this really but on the simple fact, as he said, that Attila Palfalvi allegedly exceeded his authority in that an agreement had been concluded that the school system was to be fundamentally changed only from September in accordance with national minority considerations based on a plan which by then would be appropriately prepared. Whereas Attila Palfalvi, nevertheless, ignored the allegedly concluded agreement and started to effect this in Cluj and Tirgu Mures. So he did not obey the agreement, and it is as if he was replaced only because of this.

The Romanian leaders realized they had been largely misinformed, and thus such a step would have been premature and they are trying to make up for it. This, at the same time, is a very welcome and specific indication that the Hungarian school separation process which had once been stopped has again been permitted to to ahead. Thus there is no stopping in the schooling sphere either, just as changes are taking place in every area of society and economy. It would have been absurd to have had to freeze the school business of all things, whereas the transformation does not know such time constraints at a time of such comprehensive transition and change.

[Correspondent] Then it means that nationalism exists and flourishes in this country now as much as it did, regardless of the dictator.

[Tokes] In those days it was to some extent repressed from one viewpoint, whereas from another viewpoint it was channeled in accordance with the policy aims of Ceausescu, and the water in this channel drove Ceausescu's mill. Now, in contrast, this repressed, channeled nationalism has broken through the banks and is flooding everywhere. At this stage I note with joy that no physical confrontation has yet occurred, but we could very easily have found ourselves in situations similar to those in other countries, or regions, in the Soviet Union, or neighboring countries where the national conflicts have exacerbated. We should be pleased with this, at this stage.

[Correspondent] Are you afraid? I ask because your wife, when switching on the light, immediately asked us to draw the curtains, and to this very day you are escorted by soldiers wherever you go.

[Tokes] Fear is a basic determining factor of this society. If anything, it is this which is being done well, masterfully and devilishly well, by those who want to obstruct social change and place obstacles in the way of progress. For it is obvious that fear is being created. The citizens are afraid of the so-called terrorists who are still free; they are afraid of the leaders who have remained in their posts; the Army is afraid of the Securitate; the Securitate is afraid of further discoveries and justice being done; and I believe that the leadership is afraid—for it is very unstable—of the parties and the social movement. In my view it is this paralyzing fear that is the most basic determining factor of the present situation.

[Correspondent] Do you still have any influence on the country's leaders?

[Tokes] Frankly speaking, I have not become actively involved in this work, unless we take into consideration the fact that tens of thousands have heard my sermons, and that I have traveled in some of Transylvania, and that I appeared also as a representative of the National Salvation Front. The degree of effectiveness and the real role of these symbolic factors can hardly be calculated.

[Correspondent] I believe that you still have a role. [end recording]

Tokes Supports NSF Election Participation

AU3001125490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Interview with Pastor Laszlo Tokes by Vasile Ionescu in Bucharest on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] [Ionescu] Laszlo Tokes, you are passing through Bucharest. Are you coming from Timisoara?

[Tokes] Yes. I have been in Timisoara for a short time. I recently returned from my forced deportation in December, and I have been reinstated in my Parish. I was able to deliver sermons last Sunday both in the morning and afternoon. It made a great impression on me to meet again with the congregation, which I had no hope of ever seeing again during those tempestuous and terrible days.

I am passing through Bucharest on my way to join a delegation going to France.

[Ionescu] How do you find Timisoara after your long absence?

[Tokes] One cannot say that the revolution has definitively won in Timisoara, because there is still tension as the struggle for power continues; this is not worthy of the revolution and the beginnings of the revolution in December. Many problems have cropped up since then; and tension continues, especially because the dead have not been located, neither have those who are responsible for these acts of violence. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to do justice to these mostly unknown cases or to alleged ones.

I hope that after a transitional period things will clarify and that the situation in Timisoara will settle down. In returning to Timisoara, I personally will make efforts to contribute to this social settlement and reconciliation.

[Ionescu] You have become an important figure in Romanian political and social activity. What is your position within and toward the National Salvation Front and its participation in the elections?

[Tokes] I support the National Salvation Front's participation in the elections. I was surprised at the emergence of new conflicts between the front and the parties that were set up again. In my view, all of society, including the new parties or those which have been reestablished, have to put some trust in the Front that, within the very short time of a month, was unable, naturally, to assert itself and to prove what it can do. This short time has not been enough to demonstrate the possibilities of the Front. In my view, by the time elections are held in May, we have to bestow this trust on the Front, which incorporates members devoted to the revolution—most of them at least—who during the critical days proved that they suuport democratization, the country, and a brighter future.

[Ionescu] Do you want to address a few words to Timisoara and the country at this point?

[Tokes] Yes. God has also chosen me to have a say in this country under these circumstances. I call on Timisoara residents and on the entire country to resume work throughout the country and to calm down. Since they had patience during the dark days and years of the dictatorship, they should have patience and trust in this period of transition. They should trust the current leadership which, in my view, is the only alternative for the country at this time. They should show dignity, as they did during the days of the revolution, so that, for our name and for our country, we can continue our peaceful struggle in the same devoted spirit for the country and for the well-being of our people, who are living in our common country—Romania.

[Ionescu] We thank you very much and wish you only success in the activity you will carry out in the future at home and during the trip you are making now.

[Tokes] Thank you very much. I wish you the same.

NSF Not Running in Timisoara Municipal Race

AU2601214390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] TANJUG reports that on the eve of the elections of the new local organs of provisional authority in Timisoara, announced after the dismissal of Lorin Fortuna, leading person in the National Salvation Front, the political confrontations in the town have been brought to an incendiary point. A Front spokesperson announced that no member of the top leadership will run in the elections tomorrow. This means that the political executive organs of the provisional authorities will be replaced by new people.

Timisoara Municipal NSF Council Elected

AU2701201490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] In the martyr city of Timisoara, elections were held for the Municipal Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]; the representation criterion used was one candidate for 200 delegates. Almost 900 delegates—representing NSF councils from enterprises, institutions, and educational, artistic, and cultural units—elected, by secret ballot, the Municipal NSF Council consisting of 27 members.

Major General Gheorghe Popescu, commander of the Timisoara garrison, and Viorel Pasca, chief prosecutor of Timis County, participated as observers.

The legally and democratically constituted electoral commission also announced that the County NSF Council will be elected by secret ballot on Monday, 29 January. This broadly representative body will consist of 51 members, from among whom an Executive Bureau will be elected.

Further Report

AU3001132090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1238 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—The new NSF Timis County Council was elected by secret vote on January 29. It comprises 51 members.

The elections were attended by numerous foreign newspapermen, big press agencies, television networks, press concerns and outstanding dailies from all over the world.

* Details of Timisoara 'Bloodbath' Published

90EB0189A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Jan 89 pp 1,3

[Emil Munteanu article: "What We Didn't Know About Timisoara"]

[Text] Almost everything. The terrible bloodbath took place behind closed doors. The sceptered scoundrel managed to once again deceive us. Many people actually believed that at work in the city on the Bega were gangs of hooligans instructed by foreign agents, intent on harming us. Borders were closed, telephones were scrambled, and delegates from other places were forbidden to leave the city. The state of emergency declared was nothing but a maneuver designed to gain time. As much time as was needed to gather the entire army of gorillas and maniacs for the final act: all-out massacre, beginning with the thousands in Opera Square. The events in Bucharest succeeded one another with the speed of lightning; we became ecstatic, we defended our freedom, and for a time we forgot that the lightning had come from Timisoara. But we did not forget you, City of Martyrs.

Timisoara Had To Die for Having Contested the Dictatorship!

After the massacre of Sunday 17 December, the "big shots" hastily summoned from Bucharest thought they'd surprise the Comrade on his return from his travels by reporting that the outcome of their "labor" was positive. But they were wrong. The very next day the people of Timisoara demonstrated that they were not a population, but a people; that they belonged to a great and dignified nation capable of the supreme sacrifice. An initiative committee of democratic struggle against the dictatorship was spontaneously formed and barricaded itself inside the Opera building. From its balcony the committee spoke to the people, who did not budge from there until the day of liberation. Slogans were chanted and oaths taken on the flag: "We will die and we will win!" On 10 December—please remember this date, because during those days the radio and television were desperately broadcasting patriotic songs and hymns of praise for the two miserable creatures—so, on 10 December the Romanian Democratic Front [RDF] was established in Timisoara! On the same evening, two brave printers put together the Declaration-Program, but were surprised by the Securitate as they were going to press. The Declaration was smuggled abroad with the invaluable aid of the Yugoslav Consulate in Timisoara. Yes, Serbians and many foreign correspondents stood by the people of Timisoara. On the other hand, the former editor in chief of the local newspaper kept his distance. His only contribution to the revolution was to ask university lecturer Stefan Ivan, currently chairman of the Municipal Committee of the National Salvation Front [NSF] that someone on the Opera balcony inform the crowd that the newspaper was receiving obituaries. Against payment, naturally! I will refrain from further details, because it makes me sick! But I shudder at the words of the scientist who would have communicated to her envoys in Timisoara that, "We have a good demography. The town can be wiped off the map. We can use the land for farming!"

The Dialogue

On Wednesday 20 December at 1500 worker Ion Marcu left the Opera building dressed in a sheet. On his chest it said, "Freedom" and "Democracy," and on his back, "Down with the Criminal," accompanied by a drawing of an ax. He tried to get into the county building, but was stopped by the barrel of a gun. Dascalescu, Bobu, and Mayor Mot came down: "Are you the leader of the masses?" Dascalescu asked. "I am their representative," Marcu answered. He was taken upstairs, together with two girls and three men with "very blue" eyes. He had to give his vital statistics like at the clinic, after which Dascalescu shouted at him and threatened him. How could a mere worker dare demand the resignation of "the most beloved son of the fatherland?!" Nevertheless, he asked for a delay of an hour and a half in which to examine the demands of the revolutionaries. Ion Marcu addressed the crowd from the balcony of the county building. Pacoste tried to wrest the microphone from him. The radio station was cut off. Finally, Dascalescu's reply came: "I agree to release the people arrested in the past few days. I will allow you to take away your dead. I spoke with the Comrade personally and at 1900 I will issue a communique. You must have patience." We all know what was in that cynical communique. Now we think—and this is something we want to suggest to the investigating bodies—that if Dascalescu agreed to let people take their dead away, he must have known and he now knows where they are. This may provide the answer to our question in the Sunday issue of the paper, "Where are the dead of Timisoara?"

—Mr Ion Marcu, while you were in the county building, how did Emil Bobu behave, that servile personnage about whom I allowed myself a riddle some time ago: What is small, stupid, and doesn't sprout? [Bobu means seed in Romanian]

—He didn't say one word. He was scared to death but, like all the others, he was looking at me with so much hatred that I saw myself forced to say that, if I didn't come out alive, there would be a blood bath.

Invitation to Death

After the state of emergency was declared, Mayor Petre Mot came to the Opera building to talk with the front leadership. This was his proposal: To prevent disorder, he "offered" the crowds another meeting place, namely the stadium. Which meant a closed place well suited for a massacre without wasting bullets! What was he defending? His seat, the envelopes with money in City Hall desk drawers, privileges, and his great mentor, Ilie Matei, who was detained just as he was getting ready to flee. He had packed everything, even jars of pickles. He had a whole truck with foodstuffs, enough to feed an entire regiment for a whole month!

Careful! The Securitate Is Everywhere

On the Sunday of the massacre the entire staff of the county hospital was on duty. Surgeons worked for 12 hours in 14 operating rooms. Toward morning and in the following days ambulances were no longer allowed to leave the premises. That was the order of the Securitate. Its representatives carried away patients' records, consultation records, and operation room ledgers, which have not resurfaced to this day. Other "comrades" from Bucharest began to question the wounded, even dying ones. Then they asked for lists of names and addresses of those who operated on and cared for the wounded. Not to mail them congratulations...

On 21 December, a Jordanian student informed the front that "The Securitate came to the dorm. They offered us 2,000 lei each and a free holiday ticket to Sinai. No one accepted. We won't leave our colleagues!"

Foresters in Marseilles planted a fir tree in the park in front of the cathedral as a sign of brotherhood between the two cities. A representative of the West German city of Ansbach brought a photo album of the city to Timisoara City Hall and a message of brotherhood with the martyred city.

Two commemorative stamps were issued, one entitled "Martyrs," the other "The Spark of the Revolution."

Great quantities of coffee are being consumed in the former county building, which currently houses the NSF Committee. Tonic and mineral water is also served; all the bottles bear foreign labels. At the entrance people request aid packages. They are given explanations...

In the streets there are unpleasant sights (shown on local television). Food is being distributed out of foreign cars. First come, first served! The wounded in the hospital didn't get anything for 5 days. Romanian brothers of Timisoara, do not soil your holy revolution. The aid that is coming to us is not charity, but a sign of world solidarity with our heroic struggle and with those who suffered. We are not just a population, but a people! We must preserve our dignity!

Bucharest Trials of 4 Defendants Resume

AU2901104790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Proceedings Resume in Bucharest Trials"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—The Bucharest military tribunal resumed Monday morning the trial of four defendants accused of complicity in the genocide of Timisoara, Bucharest, and other Romanian cities. Sitting in the box are Ion Dinca, Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu and Manea Manescu.

At the time of our broadcast Emil Bobu is making his deposition.

The Romanian radio stations periodically carry bulletins including the latest news of the trial. Extensive coverages will be screened by the Romanian Free Television when it starts its daily programme.

Coverage of Bobu, Postelnicu Trial

AU2901223890

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian on 29 January at 1725 GMT begins broadcasting excerpts from the proceedings of the trial of Emil Bobu, Tudor Postelnicu, and Manea Manescu. The reporter says that the trial, which began at 0700 GMT, lasted about 2 hours. Then the recorded portion of the trial begins. The president's voice is heard saying that they are continuing the hearings with defendant Emil Bobu, and asking Bobu whether he admits all charges. Bobu answers: "Yes, I recognize them."

The president asks when he heard about the Timisoara events, and who told him. Bobu says: "I learned about the Timisoara events from the first country secretary, who said that at the dwelling of a Catholic priest many people gathered and there is a certain turbulence around there." Further he says that he discussed the matter with Ion Dinca who said that the head of the Department of Religious Affairs was sent there. Then Bobu says: "After that I was informed that the priest was evacuated." He admits that he heard about some victims in Timisoara. "On 17 December, there was an extraordinary meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] and very firm measures were taken to give the Army real bullets and to start repressions against revolutionary demonstrators." The president asks whether it was decided that weapons should be used. Bobu answers that "the use of weapons was also decided." Then Bobu continues:

"On 20 December, as demonstrations in Timisoara continued, I received a phone call from the wife of the dictator, Elena Ceausescu, who told us in very tough language that we were not doing our political work and, together with Constantin Dascalescu, I should go to Timisoara and ensure that people return to work."

"What do you know about loss of lives, corpses, arrests?" asks the president of the tribunal.

Bobu answers: "I talked with Ion Coman on the phone, and he told me that there are about 57 corpses there. I told Elena Ceausescu, the wife of the dictator, and as a matter of fact the dictator, Elena Ceausescu, and I agreed that a some of them should be incinerated and those who could not be identified should be said to have fled across the border."

Asked "What can you tell us about Timisoara?" Bobu says that when he arrived he saw that "the demonstrations there were large and peaceful." At the party Central Committee balcony he tried to speak to the people but could not. A delegation of demonstrators arrived who asked that "all those arrested, more than 700 people, be freed, the corpses be returned to families, also that our press and television should communicate the situation of revolutionary movement in Timisoara, and the government and the dictator Ceausescu should be dismantled."

Bobu says that it was impossible to answer all the demands of the demonstrators. On the next day he called on Ceausescu and reported on the situation in Timisoara. He continues: "Ceausescu seemed very worried, then a teleconference with the counties followed, and then a rally was organized in Bucharest."

Asked about his position in connection with the repeated order to repress demonstrations, Bobu says that "my position was condemnable. I realized that it would have serious consequences."

When he is asked about the night of 22-23 December he answers that "I was at the party headquarters and talked with several counties."

He says that on 22 December there was a PEC meeting and "during this meeting the dictator stressed the seriousness of the situation and said that he was ready to fight to the very end. Then he directly asked some PEC members. When he asked me I answered in the affirmative." Bobu continues: "At 1130 hours the demonstrators occupied the Palace Square. I was in the office of the dictator, and Elena Ceausescu and Manea Manescu were also there and we agreed that nothing else could be done." He recalls that later the dictator was informed that the headquarters doors were being forced open. "At that moment the dictator ordered that all those who enter should be shot. At one point it was announced that people had entered the headquarters. Then someone told the dictator that he could leave, a helicopter was waiting for him. The dictator, his wife, two assistants, I, and Manescu left for Snagov Palace."

The recording of Bobu's hearing ends at 1745 GMT.

Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian on 29 January 2100 GMT carries another recorded portion of the proceedings of the top Ceausescu aides' trial, this time on the Postelnicu hearings.

Postelnicu is heard saying: "I recognize all charges. I am fully in agreement with everything written in the charges, and believe that the investigation was clean and just" Then the president says: "When did you hear of the Timisoara events?" Postelnicu answers: "On Saturday, 16 December, at about 1800 hours, the duty officer at the Securitate called me at home saying that in Timisoara there are some people demonstrating, there are some problems." Postelnicu says that he stated that he would take measures and then left for the headquarters where he arrived at around 1830. Postelnicu continues: "I asked about General Vlad. We talked on the phone and discussed meeting. It was agreed that there was nothing else to do but to arm the soldiers and the border guards as well as the security forces." Postelnicu adds that it was also agreed that blanks should be used. According to

Postelnicu. General Nuta was sent to Timisoara; he took with him Major General Mihalea Velicu, and he said that he would call another officer.

The president asks: "Did you give orders to Nuta to reestablish order in Timisoara?" Postelnicu answers: "I told him that he should reestablish order." Then the president asks: "What was your position during the 17 December PEC meeting?" Postelnicu replies: "At this meeting we discussed using real bullets, and points of view were expressed that any citizen who demonstrates should be stopped by force and violence." Further he recalls: "Elena Ceausescu called me and asked, 'What do you know about people who crossed the border and are declared dead.'" The president interrupts him with the question: "Did you transmit the order about the 40 dead bodies?" Postelnicu answers: "Elena Ceausescu told me to contact security people in Timisoara and transport some of the corpses to Bucharest. I did not realize how serious such an order could be. I told Gen Nuta to take care of it. I do not know what Nuta did afterwards."

The president says: "On 22 December, in the morning, there was another PEC meeting. What was your position there?"

Postelnicu says: "On 22 December, there were two meetings, at 0810 hours, when Gen Milea was told to bring in tanks. The other meeting was a repeat of the problems of 17 December but a tougher meeting. The issue to fight to the end was raised."

The president asks: "Did you say that you will be with Ceausescu until the end?" Postelnicu says: "He signaled to me, I raised my hand and said I would fight by his side."

The the president asks him about his wealth, Postelnicu says: "I can say that I did not have hard currency, no gold, no secret documents, or things that belong to the national heritage. I do not drink, do not smoke. I heard that about 300 bottles of whiskey and some 300 cartons of 10 packages each of cigarettes were found." Then the president says: "Then listen to part of the list of things that were found: 11 mass media devices such as 2 color television sets, 2 video recorders, 4 cassette players, and cameras, 66 cartons of Kent cigarettes, 6 packages of coffee, 460 bars of soap, spray perfume, 56 bolts of material, 200 kg of meat in the freezer, 80 China vases and small items, more that 10 kg of silver and gold jewelry, some of them with precious stones, and 247,900 lei in cash. Is it possible that this list is false?" Postelnicu replies: "Mr President, it cannot be false."

Concluding the program, the announcer states: "The hearing of the fourth defendant Manea Manescu will be broadcast at 1105 hours [0905 GMT] on Bucharest first program."

Coverage of Manea Manescu Trial

AU3001110890

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0905 GMT on 30 January announces that the "proceedings of the trial of the accused Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu resumed this morning at the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal." The announcer says that, "before the hearing of the witnesses for the prosecution, the court again interrogated the accused Tudor Postelnicu." After this announcement, the radio begins broadcasting excerpts from yesterday's proceedings of the trial of Manea Manescu, former PEC member of the Romanian Communist Party and vice president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Then the recorded portion of the trial begins.

The court president's voice is heard asking Manescu whether he admits the charges. Manescu answers: "Yes, Mr President." Asked about the Timisoara events, Manescu says: "I learned about the Timisoara events at the 17 December PEC meeting." Further he says that he was "one of four persons who thought that Milea (former Defense Minister Vasile Milea) should not be replaced" and that "the decision should be postponed." He adds that Milea was reproached by "the dictator" that he "had failed to implement previously ordered measures" in connection with the Timisoara unrest.

Asked about his activity, when he and Elena Ceausescu were at the helm of the country during Ceausescu's visit to Iran, he says that "several meetings were held, whereby she, together with me, Dascalescu [Constantin Dascalescu, former prime minister], Bobu [Emil Bobu, former PEC member and RCP secretary], and Milea—meetings which were also attended by Postelnicu [Tudor Postelnicu, former minister of interior] and his aide—examined developments in Timisoara." He says: "I, and a few other persons, did our best to find a peaceful solution to events in Timisoara." He calls Postelnicu "Ceausescu's day and night watchdog, a ferocious and beastly satrap."

Asked about his attitude when Ceausescu raised the issue of "fighting to the very end," Manescu says "I agreed." Then Manescu continues: "I was referring to the revolutionary struggle, because that is what Ceausescu was talking about." Then the prosecutor quotes from the minutes of the PEC meeting: "You said: This has been our life's ideal, and I will fight to the last drop of blood." Manescu does not comment on this.

Asked about their evacuation of the former Central Committee headquarters, Manescu says that "Ceausescu asked me where Dascalescu was, after which he took me with him in the helicopter." The prosecutor asks: "Where did you part?" Manescu answers. "At Snagov." "What was the parting gesture?" Manescu says: "Well, the parting gesture was that I kissed the hands of both of them...." The prosecutor interrupts: "Would you like to comment, very briefly, on this gesture? Maybe you can place your comments in the context of your initial statement here, whereby you made some references to—what was it?—history, the desire to remove the dictatorship, concern with the people's fate. You see, we would like to understand...." Manescu answers: "Mr President, I see what you are driving at. I would like to explain." The prosecutor says: "Well, you have the right to refuse an explanation." Manescu continues: "No, not really." The prosecutor says: "If you refuse to give an explanation, well, it is your right. If you do not want to, you do not have to. Well, I would like you to explain, but you are entitled to turn me down." Manescu says: "Well, it was a gesture of thanks for his taking me by helicopter to Snagov."

After this exchange, the prosecutor reads from a list of private assets found at Manescu's home, "which covers 24 full pages," including "more than 4 million lei," hard-currency cash, silver and gold jewelry, and so forth.

The radio report concludes at 0920 GMT with the announcer saying that details of today's trial proceedings will be broadcast in later newscasts.

Guilty Pleas on Genocide Charge

AU2901223990 Paris AFP in English 2001 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 29 (AFP)—Four senior officials in the Ceausescu regime pleaded guilty to charges of complicity to commit genocide here Monday in the first trial of the executed dictator's aides.

Emil Bobu, a close aide to Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena, former interior minister Tudor Postelnicu and Manea Manescu, a former vice president, admitted that they did nothing to stop the dictator when he ordered security forces to fire on demonstrators here and in the western city of Timisoara.

It was the bloody crackdown on anti-Ceausescu demonstrators in Timisoara, in the Transylvania region, that sparked the December revolution which brought down the dictator's repressive regime.

Ion Dinca, a former first deputy prime minister, had already admitted responsibility for the Timisoara bloodbath under questioning on Saturday.

The four are not on trial for their lives as the death penalty was abolished after the execution of the Ceausescus on Christmas Day, but they face life imprisonment with hard labour.

They branded their former master a "tyrant" and a "traitor", referring to Mrs. Ceausescu as "the criminal's wife".

Mr. Manescu, 72, also launched a blistering attack on his ex-colleague Mr. Postelnicu, calling him a "bestial torturer in the pay of the dictators".

Mr. Postelnicu, seated in the dock, was apparently unmoved, though he admitted all the charges against him except that of striking a woman during questioning.

The only defence offered by the four accused was that the smallest sign of opposition to Mr. Ceausescu would have meant death.

Mr. Bobu said he was sure that Mr. Ceausescu had "ordered the killing of defence minister Vasile Milea" because he refused to order the army to fire on demonstrators in Timisoara. General Milea was officially reported to have committed suicide.

"If any member of the politburo had expressed an opinion that contradicted the dictator, he would have suffered the same fate as General Milea," said Mr. Bobu.

"My attitude is condemnable. I will regret it all my life," Mr. Bobu, 62, repeated several times at Monday's hearing.

Dabbing at his eyes with a handkerchief, he said he had learned that the Timisoara crackdown had cost 57 lives, although official policy was to say that all those whose corpses were not found had fled abroad.

Mr. Bobu and Mr. Manescu were aboard the helicopter that the Ceausescus used to flee to Snagov, 40 kilometres (24 miles) from Bucharest.

Mr. Postelnicu addressed the court in a self-assured voice, interrupting presiding judge Adrian Nitiou several times, but apologising each time.

"I consider myself alongside the victim Milea," he said, saying that some 10 corpses had been sent from Timisoara to Bucharest to be burned.

When the judge listed the luxuries found at Mr. Postelnicu's home, including 200 kilograms of frozen meat, a rare delicacy in Mr. Ceausescu's Romania, 10 kilograms of gold jewellery and 66 cartons of cigarettes, Mr. Postelnicu caused laughter with his unabashed reply: "They were birthday presents".

Mr. Manescu, however, said he welcomed the victory of the Romanian revolution. "The tragic events in our country are written in a painful page of the Romanian people's struggle for independence, democracy and a better life," he said.

Serbian Catering Workers Strike for More Pay

AU3001112990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Catering workers in Serbia, who are employed in the social sector, are holding a 2-hour general strike today. They are demanding higher pay. A protest meeting is under way in the trade union hall in Belgrade. It is being attended by 2,000 catering workers, who represent 70,000 of their colleagues in the whole of Serbia. They have invited representatives of the Belgrade Executive Council and the Federal Executive Council, but only representatives of the Serbian Secretariat for Trade, Tourism, and Catering have arrived out of those who were invited.

Work Stoppages, Demonstrations in Kosovo

LD2901175490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—In Kosovo the situation is becoming dramatic. There are is a threat of large-scale disorder that may have exceptionally serious consequences. Today there were work stoppages in 40 Kosovo collectives; these are a sign of protest and solidarity with the demands of the demonstrators—demands which have been expressed over the past few days.

Demonstrations by Albanians were organized. They began virtually at the same time in Podujevo, Lipljan, Prizren, Urosevac, and Malisevo. Later, they spread to Vucitrn, Kanemica, and some other smaller places. The police are taking steps to ensure order and peace, but there is a possibility that all this might get worse and there might be bloodshed. The situation throughout the province is tense and uncertain, and the fear is exceptional.

Work stoppages are most numerous in Urosevac, and private tradesmen did not open their shops in Pec today. However, it has been confirmed that all vital functions in the province are functioning, and in the capital of Kosovo there are no work stoppages.

In Lipljan, demonstrators tried to attack the building of the league of communists muncipal committee, but the police succeeded in preventing them from doing this and broke them up into smaller groups. The security forces also intervened in Vucitrn, Podujevo, Urosevac, Kamenica, and Prizren. In each of these demonstrations several hundred people took part, while in Malisevo nearly 8,000 people gathered.

The demonstrators are not just seeking democracy; they are demanding that Kosovo become a republic and are making other well-known "demands," over the last few days, they have been very aggressive. They are attacking police with stones and erecting barricades in the streets of towns; if the disturbances grow, it is feared that shooting—begun by the demonstrators—and bloodshed could result. today, a well-known scenario is taking place. Groups of demonstrators are forming and gathering in nearby villages, preparing "to conquer" the town.

The tense and uncertain situation is worrying most citizens of Kosovo, especially Serbs and Montenegrins. Today, the Kosovo Polje Socialist Alliance of Working People municipal conference sent an appeal to all Serbs and Montenegrins not to emigrate from Kosovo, and to those who have already emigrated, to return.

In Pristina today—despite the disturbances, aggression, and (?violent) slogans about democracy, as well as demands that Kosovo be a republic—a mass signing of a declaration was started by the Kosovo committee for the protection of human rights and freedoms, the provincial association of sociologists and philosophers, and the branch of the Associations for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, "For Democracy - Against Violence." Signatures will be collected over the next seven days in two places—in the town and in work collectives—and starting tomorrow, in all other towns of the province.

The declaration advocates a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kosovo crisis, the abolition of the state of emergency, and a multiparty system, as well as the cessation of street disturbances, violence, and ideological differentiation. In this way, these alternative organizations believe, the conditions for a referendum on emergency free elections will be created.

No one knows, and it is dificut to envisage, how the situation will develop in Kosovo by the end of the day. It is also difficult to learn and verify anything, because there is not one official institution in the province which either responds to the questions put to it, or is making its voice heard at all. The inhabitants of Kosovo are unfortunately well aware of the times when, of all the institutions of the system, only the security organs function.

Slovenia Withdraws Police Contingent

LD2901214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium [as received] of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, in a debate on the worrying events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, approved at today's session a special statement which states that the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, at a joint session of all three chambers on 27 November last year, gave a timely warning of the inappropriateness of the policy for settling the situation in Kosovo and advocated a different evaluation of it, and the abandonment of coercion and preparations for a new Yugoslav program for Kosovo on a completely new basis.

These stands, the statement goes on to say, have been sent by the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia to the competent organs in the federation and to the assemblies of the republics and socialist autonomous provinces. However, the proposals and demands of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia were not supported either in the Federal Chamber or in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly. Also, other organs failed to respond to calls for establishing anew the inappropriate policy for settling the province's situation and for completely abandoning repression.

The statement stresses that the Presidium of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia states with great concern that the unreadiness to change the proven ineffective policy of the last few days has caused new victims. Hence, we demand that the highest organs of authority immediately take measures so that the province's situation might finally be settled by political means and not by coercion.

The Presidium of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia's stresses that the situation in Kosovo can be resolved only by equal agreement reached by representatives of all the nations and nationalities who live in the province. Therefore, we call on them to immediately end their hatred and reciprocal settling of scores. We are convinced that the SFRY Presidency would also make a vital contribution to calming down the hatred if it were to revoke immediately the still valid measures on intervention in the emergency situation. The true will and aspirations of Kosovo's inhabitants in the current situation cannot be expressed democratically, and this could lead to civil war of unforeseeable dimensions and consequences.

The Presidium of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia therefore rejects all the unreasoned and inciting allegations from other environments in the SFRY that Slovenia is responsible for the situation in the province because of the aforementioned stands, because such accusations have already proved to be pure fabrication, aimed at seeking causes and culprits for the demise of some policy outside the real creators of a failed policy.

The Presidium of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, in its statement, repeats the Slovene Assembly's already well-known stance that it does not want to take part in the preservation of a policy which is again demanding victims.

Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, reported at today's session of the republican Assembly Presidium that the republican secretary for internal affairs has received a request for an additional contingent of policemen from Slovenia for Kosovo.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia has decided not to send an additional contingent of police from the SR of Slovenia to Kosovo. It has also decided that the police unit from Slovenia which is now in Kosovo is to return to Slovenia on 5 February and that it will not be replaced by a new unit. The Presidium of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia supported this Executive Council decision.

Special Militia Unit Gives Help

AU2901165990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Telephone interview with Pristina correspondent Milivoje Mihajlovic by unidentified studio reporter—live]

[Excerpt] [Studio announcer] Colleague Mihajlovic, good day, or shall I say good evening, since it is already dark.

[Mihajlovic] Good day.

[Studio announcer] What happened in Kosovo and Pristina today? I suppose, of course, that you could not visit everywhere.

[Mihajlovic] No, of course not. Unfortunately there is no good news from Kosovo again. Demonstrations are being held in most places. Up to about 1 or 2 hours ago it was quiet in Pristina but a group of youngsters of Albanian nationality started to demonstrate near the student residence halls. The militia managed, however, to disperse them quickly.

I was in Lipljan at about noon today. The demonstrations there lasted several hours. A group of about 1,000 people passed through the town on two occasions shouting the slogans: Democracy, Democracy; Tito, party; and Kosovo—republic.

The militia force, which I think was lacking men, managed to disperse the demonstrators but not to ensure peace in the streets of Lipljan. The demonstrators smashed the windows of the communal party committee building. It is interesting that some of them had tear gas which they threw at the militia and passersby. Some shots were also heard but as far as I could see nobody was injured. Fleeing from the militia, groups of demonstrators rushed into the houses and gardens in Lipljan and disturbed Serbs and Montenegrins living there.

The demonstrations are still going on in Podujevo. About 2,000 Albanians started to demonstrate in the city center at noon. A particularly aggressive group of demonstrators tried to reach the communal party committee building but were prevented from doing so by the militia. Help was provided by members of the special militia who were throwing tear gas at the demonstrators from helicopters. Clashes in Podujevo are still going on. They will probably calm down when it becomes completely dark. At about 1000 local time this morning, all Albanian workers in the Podujevo work organizations stopped work. At one time there were approximately 4,000 demonstrators.

In the village of Korisa near Prizren, about 2,000 demonstrators erected barricades and blocked the road for the militia. Demonstrations are also taking place in Dusanovo, Medevece, and Zojica near Prizren. About 300 people today held demonstrations in Prizren but were swiftly dispersed by the militia. It is interesting to note that a group of Serbs and Montenegrins gathered in front of the Prizren party committee building demanding protection.

In Vucitrn one militiaman was seriously injured in a clash with Albanian separatists and was transferred to a hospital in Titova Mitrovica. A group of aggressive demonstrators, and I would also say terrorists, also attacked a police car in Vucitrn. There was also some shooting in this town today but the number of injured people is still unknown.

An attempt to hold demonstrations was also made in Kosovska Kamenica, Junik, and Zecani. In these places people shouted hostile slogans. The militia intervened with tear gas and dispersed the separatists.

[Studio announcer] But in Pristina it is quiet.

[Mihajlovic] Yes it is. Cuuently. At about 1430 the demonstrators in Decani proceeded from the market toward the city center but were prevented from doing so by a swift militia action. [passage omitted]

Gnjilane 'Increasingly Tense'

LD2901180290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The situation in the municipality of Gnjilane is becoming increasingly tense as a result of continued activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists. At noon today occasional shots were heard from various parts of the town. In the afternoon, the demonstrators concentrated around the settlement of Gavran. Security organs have been using tear gas in an attempt to disperse the demonstrators.

The Stari Zavicaj [Old Homeland] society, a branch of the Bozur association of Kosovo Polje, today sent a telegram to the Presidencies of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia calling for urgent intervention and for measures to safeguard the freedom and integrity of Serbs, Montenegrins, and other honest citizens, in order to prevent continued terror. The society warns, that unless the security organs and Army succeed in securing safe and peaceful life, it will ask for arms for Serbs and Montenegrins so that they can, on their own, defend their freedom and integrity. Failing this, the society will insist on Serbian and Montenegrin families being evacuated from the regions on both sides of the Morava River in Kosovo.

The Stari Zavicaj also advises workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality not to go to work or send their children to school until the situation stabilizes and Albanian separatism and terrorism are suppressed. Armed guards have been employed in the Serbian villages throughout Gnjilane municipality to defend citizens from possible terrorist incursions by Albanian separatists.

Tanks Stand Ready in Barracks

AU2901184290 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 29 Jan 90

[By Helene Despic-Popovic]

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Jan 29 (AFP)—Thousands of angry ethnic Albanian nationalists took to the streets Monday in an escalation of protests throughout Yugoslavia's Kosovo province as the trial of an Albanian leader resumed.

"Democracy" and "Down with the state of emergency", roared the demonstrators, after weekend clashes between demonstrators and police left at least six dead.

Some 8,000 people marched silently through Drenica, TANJUG news agency said. In Podujevo, a nationalist hotbed north of here, two thousand young people including children as young as eight faced rows of helmetted riot policemen firing tear gas.

Local resentment at Serbian moves last year to bring the mainly ethnic Albanian province under direct control from Belgrade has fueled anger over the trial of former Kosovo communist party chief Azem Vlasi, accused along with 14 other people of stirring up nationalist unrest.

Workers downed tools in 40 companies in the province as authorities braced for more trouble, although no incidents have so far been reported in Monday's rallies.

In Pristina, the provincial capital, small groups of policemen were posted every 50 metres (yards) in the town centre while helicopters hovered overhead. Police were checking traffic at all crossroads.

Residents said armoured police vans had rumbled though the city at dawn. Tanks ready to go out on the streets were waiting near the exit of the local Army barracks Monday afternoon, said an Agence France-Presse correspondent who had seen them covered in tarpaulins in the barracks yard in the morning.

At Titova Mitrovica in northern Kosovo, troops mounted an uneasy guard over the town centre and court house, where the trial resumed Monday of Mr. Vlasi.

Mr. Vlasi fought the Serbian moves to curtail Kosovo's autonomy, becoming a symbol for Albanian nationalists in this province where 90 per cent of people are Moslem ethnic Albanians.

On Saturday, when five people were reported killed at Orahovac and another at Pec in western Kosovo, demonstrators chanted the name of Mr. Vlasi and of Adem Demaci, another ethnic Albanian leader behind bars.

Lawyers defending Mr. Vlasi have called for the charges to be dropped in light of political changes now taking place in Yugoslavia. The charge, namely that of "counter-revolutionary activities" carries the death penalty. His trial opened in October.

In Pristina, opposition groups set up a stand only two metres (yards) from a police cordon, where they collected signatures for a petition calling for an end to violence and free elections.

Three thousand people signed the petition in just three hours Monday. The opposition groups are also pressing for the lifting of emergency measures and the release of political prisoners.

On Saturday the opposition had issued an urgent call for an end to the bloodshed and immediate talks with the authorities, but it came too late to save the lives of those who took to the streets over the weekend.

A musician who signed the petition branded the demonstrators as "terrorists", saying the street protests were "senseless".

"Dialogue is the only solution and we are convinced that a good number of intellectuals in Serbia believe, as we do, that the systematic repression practiced in Kosovo by Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic is dangerous for the country."

Mr. Milosevic, a firebrand populist leader who has frequently appealed to Serbian nationalist feelings, spearheaded Serbia's drive to take control of Kosovo. Serbia has accused Kosovo nationalists of conspiring to secede and join Albania.

29 Jan Situation Noted

AU2901201290

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 29 January devotes 17 minutes of an extended 55-minute newscast to the current situation in Kosovo.

After 12 minutes of reports on meetings of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian and Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidiums assessing the Kosovo situation, provincial news begins with a report on an appeal by the Kosovo Trade Union Council, stressing that the situation "is serious and involved," appealing to "citizens' class interests," and saying that "demonstrations and strikes help the enemy." This is followed by a communique from the Presidium of Kosovo Reserve Officers Association, condemning the demonstrations. A report follows on a communique issued by the Kosovo All-People's Defence and Social Self-Protection Committee, which states that "Albanian nationalists and separatists, emboldened by direct support from the Slovene state and party leaderships, are attempting to destabilize and destroy Yugoslavia," and expresses support for the Kosovo LC leadership headed by Rahman Morina.

Local reports begin with a TANJUG report on the situation in Kosovo, identical to the first referent item, followed by a TANJUG report on the telegram of the "Old Homeland" society of Gnjilane sent to the SFRY Presidency, as in the second referent item.

A report from Suva Reka states that the situation is still "dramatic," and that "a large number of demonstrators arrived from Mustiste this morning." "Several thousand demonstrators" are reported as having protested outside the communal LC building, while "tear gas and firearms were used to disperse them." The report also says that "The Balkan Rubber Combine is at a standstill.

A TANJUG report on demonstrations in Prizren follows, identical to the third referent item.

A report from Titova Mitrovica states that "about 400 Trepca workers gathered in the works canteen today," and presented "familiar demands," and there is an indistinct report on further demonstrations in the streets of the town.

The newscast continues with a report from Prizren, where the textile combine is said to be on strike. Its workers "assembled in front of the building of the communal authorities. The security authorities dispersed them, but workers spread to the Ramiz Sadiku quarter on the edge of the town, where they were joined by many young people and began to demonstrate, shouting slogans. The security services used tear gas to disperse them." The report also states that "several militiamen were seriously or lightly injured by stones," and that "At the Communal Court, 20 persons were sentenced to between 20 and 60 days imprisonment for participating in last Friday's demonstration."

A telephone report from Urosevac follows, stating that "The streets were filled today with large numbers of demonstrators shouting hostile slogans." The demonstrators are reported to have assembled outside the Communal Assembly, and to have paraded through the streets, "shouting continually the slogans oath, our oath [besa, bese]; We will give up our lives, but not our freedom; and democracy, democracy." The remainder of the report is indistinct.

A report from Pec states that the situation is "serious and involved," and that "A large number of citizens attended the funeral of Fatmir Ukaj, killed in the demonstrations."

A report from Srbica states that "demonstrations began at about 1315, and are still continuing. Hundreds of young people took to the streets, heading for the bus station, shouting familiar Albanian nationalist and separatist slogans." According to the report, the security services used tear gas, and "The demonstrators divided into groups, some taking the road for Glogovac, while others occupied a factory, where they remain." The "most frequent slogans" are reported to be "Tito, party; democracy, democracy; freedom, equality; republic—constitution, whether by peace or war. The song Oath, Our Oath was also heard."

The situation in Vucitrn was reported to be "quiet" this morning, with "work proceeding normally at all enterprises." The report continues by stating that "About 1445, members of the Albanian nationality attempted to demonstrate in the towns' streets."

The news broadcast goes on to report condemnation of the demonstrations from communal authorities in Istok and Kosovo Polje.

The provincial news section concludes with a TANJUG report on the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's appeal for peace.

Two More Die in Unrest

LD2901215390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Dramatic events which took place in about dozen towns and a number of villages in Kosovo had all the signs of a renewed attempt at rebellion by Albanian separatists and nationalists. Under the guise of demands for democracy and open calls for the Province of Kosovo to be given the status of a republic, they stopped at nothing in their attacks on the police. Members of the security organs were fired at and barricades were put up. The police were forced to return fire.

The clashes today resulted in two new deaths. The number of those killed in the latest unrest has increased to eight. One person is known to have died during this evening's separatist attacks in Gnjiland and another in Urosevac. Twenty demonstrators and a number of policemen were injured.

In the demonstrations this afternoon and in the evening separatists in Urosevac and Gnjilane were among the most aggressive. Several groups of extremist terrorists tried to erect barricades in the villages around Gnjilane. Barricades were also erected on the road to Bujanovac. Similar scenes could be seen in Decani where demonstrators set car tires on fire, fired at security organs, destroyed everything in their way, and threw smoke bombs.

Night guards are patrolling the majority of villages populated by Serbs and Montenegrins throughout the day at which demands were made for arms to be distributed among citizens for self-defense.

It was with considerable relief and encouragement that the population of Kovoso this evening received a statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency and another one from the Federal Executive Council in which the federal government has given a correct account of events in the province and has pledged to defend peace, security, and the integrity of all the people in the province by all available means.

Organizations React to Violence in Kosovo

SFRY Presidency Statement

LD2901211290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—At an emergency session held today and presided over by President Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency discussed the latest developments in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in light of a report by competent federal organs. The SFRY Presidency was also informed about the conclusions reached by the Federal Executive Council at its session held today. The SFRY Presidency fully supports these conclusions, the statement stresses. In connection with the latest events in Kosovo the SFRY Presidency stresses that all available means at its disposal will be used to defend the SFRY's territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders, and its constitutional system.

The SFRY Presidency insists on the consistent implementation of its decisions on Kosovo and the situation there, and expresses its determination within its constitutional powers to continue to take all available measures to ensure the functioning of the rule of law as a precondition for continuing current reform processes, including all democratic processes in which all democratically oriented forces of Kosovo interested in common and equal existence within the SFRY for all our nations and nationalities would be brought to prominence.

The SFRY Presidency appeals to all citizens of Kosovo to restrain from violent behavior and any conduct which could further exacerbate the situation in Kovoso and threaten social order, people's lives, and socially and privately owned property. It calls upon them to fulfill their demands by means of the system's legal institutions.

The SFRY Presidency stresses that the protection for human rights, freedoms, and equality of all the people living in Kosovo, regardless of their national affiliations and the creation of conditions for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress must be in the forefront of the Yugoslav efforts in Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency expresses regret at human losses and calls on competent organs to submit a detailed report about the circumstances under which citizens and policemen were killed or wounded during the latest demonstrations in Kosovo. They are asked to inform the SFRY Presidency and the public about their findings as soon as possible. State organs and other social factors must do their utmost to avoid further human casualties and material losses.

The SFRY Presidency will continue to monitor developments in Kosovo and to take necessary measures. At a session which has been under preparation for some time now, and in which presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces will take part, the SFRY Presidency will assess the effects of the measures and decisions it has taken so far and will adopt conclusions on further activities in eliminating the causes of the current difficult situation in Kosovo, the statement says.

FEC Notes 'Serious' Situation

LD2901203390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] considered the country's current political-security situation with a special focus on the most recent events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, describing it as extremely serious. The FEC Secretariat for Information at today's session issued a statement which says:

"The FEC has once again stated that the program of economic reforms and measures for their realization, which was accepted in the SFRY Assembly and in society as a whole, represents a realistic basis for the emergence of Yugoslavia from the economic and sociopolitical crisis. The approved program is already providing the first positive results, and in this way the preconditions have been created for the further democratization of socioeconomic relations, the establishment of political pluralism, the reform of the state, and the creation of conditions for the further development of human rights and freedoms and for more intensive involvement in modern world processes.

At the same time, the Council announced that the appearance of fierce resistance by conservative, dogmatic, nationalistic, and separatist forces in Yugoslavia is not appropriate for the implementation of the program and the resolution of the problems which the country finds it has.

The latest events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo—the further continuity of separatist activity expressed through the secessionist tendency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from the Serbian Socialist Repubic and the SFRY—most directly threaten, in the FEC's assessment, the country's integrity, the citizens' freedom and rights, and the reform program's implementation. The FEC demands the end of the demonstrations and strikes and all forms of violence and the endangering of the personal and property security of all citizens in Kosovo. This will create conditions for political communication by the organs of authority with the positive democratic forces in the spirit of society's orientation toward respect for democratic pluralism, and the differentiation of separatist forces from the true democratic demands behind which these forces are hiding.

In the FEC's assessment there should be no succumbing to separatists' efforts to portray all Albanian nationals in Yugoslavia as anti-Yugoslav-oriented, because this does not correspond to the actual situation and the aspirations of the largest part of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia.

The FEC believes it is only in an atmosphere of democratic social relations, political pluralism, and the law-governed state, which represent constituent parts of the program of economic and social reform, that the full expression of the democratic forces of all the nations and nationalities of our country and of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, who have as their aim the preservation of the territorial integrity of the SFRY, is facilitated.

The statement stresses that the FEC has ordered all federal competent organs to undertake, in cooperation with the competent organs of the Serbian Socialist Republic and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, all available measures, as set out in the Constitution and the law, to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of the SFRY, to prevent interethnic conflict, to protect the personal safety of citizens and their property, and to establish public order and peace, as well as the normal functioning of state organs and the smooth working of economic activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The FEC is cooperating directly with all the executive councils of the assemblies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces in implementing these tasks.

In the FEC's view the coming months are crucial for the success of the economic and political reforms, which require an immediate cessation of all those activities which hamper and can threaten the program's implementation and lead to the destruction of the country's economic and political unity, the statement concludes.

Serbian LC Statement

LD2901201690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee today came to the conclusion that a deterioration in the political-security situation in Kosovo had resulted from, above all, overt support and encouragement by the party leaderships in Slovenia and Croatia, who favored Kosovo's secession from both Serbia and Yugoslavia, and who had been using the province's problems for their own aims. The following statement was issued after the session:

"The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee today met in an expanded session, presided over by Bogdan Trifunovic, to consider the political-security situation in Kosovo in light of a report by competent organs and political activists who, over the last few days, have stepped up their activity in the province and in work organizations, local communities, and municipalities there.

"The Presidium stressed the importance of all the measures the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia had taken in accordance with the rule of law and its powers and duties in order to defend the constitutional system and safeguard citizens' equality, security, and property. Particular attention was drawn to the state organs' obligation to take appropriate measures to most resolutely thwart all destructive and terrorist actions by Albanian separatists.

"In the opinion of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, the sudden deterioration in the political-security situation in Kosovo, which has caused great concern among citizens in the republic and among Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Turks, Romanies, and citizens of other nationalities in Kosovo in particular, resulted from overt support and encouragement by Slovene and Croat party leaderships who favor Kosovo's secession from both Serbia and Yugoslavia, and who are using Kosovo's problems for their own anti-Serbia, anti-Yugoslav, and separatist goals.

"These leaderships, who now openly insist that national-bureaucratic elites and not the people should make decisions about Yugoslavia's future, are again trying to use Kosovo and the separatist aspirations of Albanian chauvinists for their own separatist tendencies.

"These elites aim to suspend the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the state of Yugoslavia, as well as the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo at any price. They are intent on destabilizing the situation in the province, on causing a civil war, and forcing the Albanians into an adventure, the consequences of which would inevitably be tragic. There is no doubt that they see this as their last chance to regain control over Serbia and to continue to manage it in the way they did before the adoption last year of the new Constitution of the SR of Serbia, which constituted the republic as genuinenly equal with others in the SFRY.

"In addition to this strategic reason, bureaucratic elites have been manipulating Kosovo's problems in order to maintain their own political positions as either groups or individuals in the coming elections in their respective republics.

"In light of this the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee stresses that despite everything, the Serbian LC will do its utmost to stabilize the situation in Kosovo as soon as possible. Neither the Serbian LC, the Serbian nation, nor other nations and nationalities in Serbia will ever surrender Kosovo. But they will use all the means provided by a law-governed state as applied in the world today in such or similar circumstances to defend constitutional order in Kosovo.

"Hatred of a nation or nationality cannot be used as a basis for resolving Kosovo's problems. Any ultimatums or blackmail in connection with Kosovo are also unacceptable. Understandably, everyone who wants to help can do so, but no one will be allowed to stand in our way.

"The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee calls on all Communists, working people and citizens in the republic, members of all other nations and nationalities, and especially the Albanians in Kosovo, to resolutely counter attempts by separatist forces in Kosovo and Yugoslavia to drive them to bloodshed in order to reestablish their influence over Kosovo. Their aim is not to contribute to the efforts to resolve Kosovo's problems but, by constantly fomenting interethnic divisions and conflicts, to drive Serbia back into the position of a vassal so that they can barter away its interests. There is, however, no force which could again separate Kosovo from Serbia.

"The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee calls on all Communists and progressive patriotic forces to step up their political action in all environments, and in Kosovo in particular, where the organs of Kosovo, together with the organs from the SR of Serbia, must take on the largest share of the task to eliminate and expose separatist policy and the nature of current demonstrations in Kosovo in order to stabilize the political and economic situation in the province as soon as possible."

Slovenia, Croatia Accused of 'Treason'

LD2901231990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2237 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—The trade union leadership of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today invited all workers to stop demonstrating and return to work, and accused the Slovene leadership of instigating nationalistic divisions between Serbs and Montenegrins on the one side and Albanians on the other.

In its call, the trade union says that the working class of Kosovo clearly sees that what is involved here is a tragedy to dismember Yugoslavia, which is what the support of the leadership of the Republic of Slovenia for the ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists is aimed at.

The leadership of the youth organization of the Kosovo capital, Pristina, has joined in the condemnation of the collusion between the Slovene and Croatian leaderships and ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists.

The strongest reaction this evening has come from the leadership of the Socialist Alliance in Belgrade, which accused the political leaderships of the republics Slovenia and Croatia of treason and of fomenting a civil war in the territory of Serbia.

The Socialist Alliance also fully upheld the presidency of the Republic of Serbia not to allow, under any circumstances, that the demands of ethnic Albanian separatists be met and that the province of Kosovo secede from Serbia.

Democratic League Urges Protest End

LD2901182490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Continued deterioration in interethnic relations and escalation of violence have resulted in new casualties, renewed bloodshed, and a chaos which threatens to assume tragic proportions. In view of this the Democratic League of Kosovo today called on all its members and on the population in general to restrain from street demonstrations which, in this alternative organization's opinion, have been used by the state as a pretext for using violent measures.

The Democratic League of Kosovo stated again today that it "gives resolute support to legitimate and inalienable demands for democracy and democratic dialogue as a condition for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo." In its view "the deep disquiet and indignation at the latest bloodshed in Kosovo is the last warning for the state organs to give up repression as a means of resolving problems."

In a statement the organization expresses its amazement and "deep resentment at the absence of any public pronouncement on the part of top state organs and of the SFRY Presidency, in particular, in connection with the sufferings of its citizens." These organs must be aware of the fact that in the towns and villages of Kosovo innocent citizens who cheer democracy and not terrorists are being killed, the leadership of the Democratic League of Kosovo alternative organization concludes.

Slovene SAWP Statement

LD2901175590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The conflicts of Kosovo can by no means be resolved by the present policy of repression and pressures. The situation which over the last few days has threatened to escalate into a civil war proves that the insistence on emergency measures can lead to increasing national and territorial threats, exacerbated interethnic tensions, and bloodshed. This is stressed in a statement by the Slovene SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Republican Conference Executive Committee.

The statement says that Kosovo's social and political energies, instead of being wasted on repressive mechanisms as mentioned in a statement yesterday by the Serbian Presidency, should be redirected toward overcoming existing interethnic and human relations, toward multicultural and multilingual tolerance, and toward overcoming divisions between the Serbian and Montenegrin population on the one hand and the Albanian population on the other.

The executive committee also supports attempts by the Democratic League of Kosovo to find a peaceful and democratic solution to Kosovo's problems. Organs of the Slovene republic are being asked to initiate a debate to examine how it is possible that in a common federation one repubic is allowed to carry out national divisions and to be at war with its own citizens.

The executive committee wants Slovenia to halt its participation in financing the existing circumstances in Kosovo and the Republic of Serbia. Federal organs must do their utmost to end the bloodshed and to secure the rule of law as the sole instrument of guaranteeing safety and equality for all citizens in Kosovo regardless of their national affiliation. The statement ends by appealing to all democratic organizations in Serbia to use their influence to prevent a civil war in their republic and, by implication, in Yugoslavia.

Slovene Opposition Leader on Events

AU2901145690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Commenting in Ljubljana DELO on the latest events in Kosovo, Joze Pucnik, president of the Slovene social democrats, stated that as a citizen of the state of Slovenia, which is still within the federation, he was deeply ashamed to say that the leadership of the state of Slovenia and the ruling Communist Party are legally responsible for the killing of citizens in Kosovo.

Pucnik demands that, because of the violation of basic human rights and in view of ratified international conventions, relations between the state of Slovenia and the federation be immediately suspended and all Slovene representatives recalled from Belgrade. If the Slovene assembly does not do this, it should at least demand from Belgrade that it recognize Kosovo as a republic.

Alternative Declaration in Pristina

LD2901115890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—At two locations in Pristina this morning the signing began of the declaration of the Provincial Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Society of Kosovo Philosophers and Sociologists, and the local branch of Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, under the title "For democracy and freedom." The declaration issued by these three organizations appeals for a peaceful resolution of the Kosovo crisis under conditions of political pluralism, the abolition of the extraordinary measures, and an end to the unrest on the streets and intranational confrontations, claiming that these are the prerequisites for free elections.

One of the organizers of this action, Veton Suroi, says that Kosovo citizens will have the opportunity to sign this declaration during the next seven days, and, beginning tomorrow, new locations—properly registered with the authorities—will be available in other Kosovo towns, too. These organizations' activists also visited Pristina's collectives this morning so as to enable those interested in signing to do so without leaving their workplaces.

In the first hour, about 600 people signed the declaration in Pristina's Boro i Ramiz Hall, Suroi stated.

LCY Presidium Holds Consultative Meeting

LD2901191390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—It has been announced that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium held a consultative meeting today led by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at which preparations for the LCY Central Committee session and the continuation of the work of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress were considered.

It was agreed to intensively continue all the necessary activities so that the successful continuation of the congress' work is ensured. It was also assessed that the very serious situation in Kosovo, caused by the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, should be overcome by the responsible political activity of all socialist subjective forces and by appropriate measures of the law-governed state.

Slovene Socialist Alliance on Slovenia's New Name

AU2901193090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia supported the initiative of the former Youth Organization of Slovenia to drop the word socialist from Slovenia's name of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Resumption of Vlasi Trial Postponed to 5 Feb

LD2901164190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The main hearing in the trial of Azem Vlasi and the 14 accused of the criminal counterrevolutionary acts and endangering the social order, which was to be resumed this afternoon in Titova Mitrovica after a two-week adjournment, has been postponed until 5 February. The council adopted this decision so that the accused, Ibis Jonuzi, might in the intervening period be sent for specialist examination because of the poor state of his health.

Both lawyers and the accused insisted on the postponement of the hearing primarily for this reason. They claim, in fact, that as a result of the current political situation in Kosovo, caused by the latest events in this province, which, they said, political forums in Kosovo and Serbia are assessing as a continuation of the November and February events, special pressure is being exerted on the court and on the trial. They also requested that the trial be resumed on territory outside Kosovo and Serbia, mentioning Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. The lawyers also requested the adjournment of the trial, claiming that the bill of indictment is the result of political assessments of the Kosovo and Serbia party organs .

Pancevski Addresses 14th Congress

AU2001180890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Speech by Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidium, at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress entitled "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Social Reform"—live]

[Text] Comrades, delegates, and guests,

During the 70 years of its existence and activity, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, that is, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY or LC], has gone through many challenges and passed historic tests in the form of crucial tasks and decisions. It has always aspired to find answers to all those challenges and historic requests of the particular times and to direct its ideopolitical activities toward finding progressive solutions to them, as well as opening prospects for creating a more progressive society. It has managed to do so during various historic periods and under various circumstances, where it had a clear political platform and program which were expressions of lasting and specific historic aspirations and interests of the broadest strata of working class, all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and other progressive forces in our society.

Because of all that, the LCY was capable of being an inspirer, a driving force, and a leader of the revolutionary and national liberation movement which was born from the broadest strata of all our peoples and nationalities, as well as from Yugoslavia's working class, and in which our people's liberation struggle was won and an authentic socialist revolution carried out. This socialist revolution of ours that has had, despite its rises and falls, a continuous course in conformity with historic and political conditions of these times, broached new processes, and to a great extent ensured essentially new and authentic values, which have been giving an essential characteristic to our self-managing and democratic socialism. They are inevitable and lasting values and foundations upon which we shall build a new stage in our country's development of socialism.

The broadest creative efforts and visions have above all been directed toward a constant struggle for the greatest possible and true affirmation and realization of freedom as the highest value of man and society—in its societal, political, national, and broadest communist sense—for the realization of the process of liberating man and labor thorough self-management; for a position and role for the workers' class; for spreading democracy through all spheres of life and work; for realizing and constantly deepening brotherhood and unity and equality of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities as well as the federal character of our community based on the foundations of

AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]; and for strengthening, constantly affirming, and deepening our country's independent, nonaligned, and committed foreign policy.

All these and similar values are above all the result of our people's clear aspirations, creativity, and commitment; they are the synonym for their basic vital and lasting interests and orientations, all of which have been that driving force of our country's very stormy, dynamic, complex, and contradictory socioeconomic and material development in general.

To a great extent, all of the above has represented a pioneer broaching of new prospects, visions, and practice in the world of socialism, and it has been realized by the Yugoslav Communists with Tito at their head. On the other hand, all that has objectively represented a special kind of contribution to the progressive world and to civilizational currents.

Pointing to the authentic values and achievements of our social revolution and to the overall social development can by no means represent any kind of glorification or uncritical attitude toward all unrealistic constructions, ideologized dogmas, deformations in the practice, and even crude mistakes resulting from some socialist ideas and tenets. On the contrary, through the affirmation of these values and the achievements of our development, as well as through a profound Marxist analysis and criticism of everything that has been overcome and used up, pointing to the values and achievements has pulled us back, slowed down the material and overall social development, distorted relations, and hampered the initiative and an even greater creativity of people. [sentence as heard]

On this basis, the LCY must build a clear critical and creative ideopolitical attitude toward the essential and original premises of socialism in general and toward that in our country and identify the true ideological, systemic, and political causes of the weaknesses and mistakes and of the present social stagnation and serious crisis.

Only in this way can we build a new development stage of socialism in a creative and visionary way, a stage that will be much better suited to the present time and the future, and in which the basic human strivings for universal freedom and for a richer and more humane life will be met essentially in a more efficient, complex, and profound way.

Only in this way can we eliminate the existing occurrences and tendencies of gross nihilism, which means destruction and negation of everything that has been created. Then, we can eliminate occurrences of an extremely uncritical and artificial borrowing of certain ideopolitical concepts and models, which in their essence means a general return of historically outdated concepts and relations on our domestic scale and on the world scale, as well as of tendencies of a status quo.

Confronting our country's ever deeper social crisis, and despite some confusion and a defensive attitude in a certain period, the LCY opened up radically new processes in drafting a more comprehensive program for finding an efficacious way out of the crisis as soon as possible. This was particularly demonstrated by the first LCY conference, the congresses and conference of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces, and especially the preparations of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

In such a context, the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress had to be held. We are holding it under the conditions of an extremely tense economic and social crisis; and also at a time in which the organized socialist forces are making great efforts for investing in the search for solutions to overcome the crisis and for determining a program containing clear aims and tasks for a successful opening of new development prospects.

Therefore, the LCY is at a historic social turning point, at which it has become aware of its own responsibility and tasks in the new steps toward a richer and more humane democratic socialism [Pancevski corrects himself] socialist society, and it is aware that this can only be achieved together with all of our society's progressive socialist forces.

The actual and historical responsibility of the League of Communists and all other socialist forces for implementing radical social reforms is greater, because it is evident that our present model of social relations has objectively exhausted its development opportunities. Likewise, the modern world is passing through very great changes in social, material, and spiritual development and in scientific and technological progress. Above all, the world is arising from new scientific achievements and knowledge and social processes, which our society must accept.

Very stormy, radical, and complex changes have also been broached in other countries of socialism. Basically this is a logical consequence of the complete collapse of an authoritarian and sometimes even despotic system, which, objectively speaking, had little in common with socialism and thus devalued and compromised socialism on the world scale.

Because of all this, our 14th extraordinary congress' work has great political significance. I think that, in expressing the widest views of LCY members and organizations and the widest strata of the working people and citizens from all over Yugoslavia, we will together make the greatest possible creative contribution. We will democratically develop unity and extremely responsible attitudes toward the strategic questions of how to overcome the social crisis. We will conceptualize our program orientations toward fundamental social reform with regard to the economic and political system and with the transformation of the LCY itself under the new conditions.

Similarly, this congress must be a strong stimulus for even more efficient, complex, and responsible implementation of the incipient reforms, especially the systemic measures and regulations that were proposed by the Federal Executive Council and adopted by the SFRY Assembly.

The congress should especially provide new creative impulses and the bases for drafting a new LCY program and statute, as well as for adopting a new modern SFRY Constitution that will represent a legal-political foundation for our new development stage of socialism and the final shaping of the bases of the modern economic and political systems of Yugoslavia.

Comrades, in order to formulate as successfully as possible its program orientations aimed at realizing the total social reforms and its own transformation and activities in the coming period, I think that the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress should draw up a fuller, comprehensive, and more profound analysis and critique of the overall situation in society and the LCY for a longer time period—particularly between the period between the 13th and 14th Extraordinary LCY Congresses—with the purpose of overcoming this situation more efficiently.

On the other hand, we must arrive at clearer assessments of what are the present positive processes and relations that were begun or were being implemented in the inter-congress period. We should do this, not with the purpose of achieving some kind of self-satisfaction and glorification, but rather in order to affirm these positive phenomena and processes more fully and to improve and realize them in the process of our overall activities. Only this kind of approach can ensure critical and creative attitudes on the part of the LCY and all of society's progressive forces and ensure unity in our society's strategic directions and interests. On this basis we can start the genuine processes of the LCY's transformation and of the return and strengthening of its political reputation and authority, because only such an attitude can guarantee the organic connection and link between political orientations and activities of the LCY and the broadest interests of the working people and all strata of society, with the aim of overcoming the crisis and opening up radically new and realistic prospects for our development and a better life.

One of the main determinants of the LCY's overall ideological and political attitudes and activities in the inter-congress period was the conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress, that is to say, the overall state of relations and processes that were within the LCY in that period.

The 13th LCY Congress clearly expressed critical views on the gravity of the burden of economic and political problems which our society was facing. It was thought that this burden was the result of the accumulated major problems and contradictions of a systemic and political nature over a longer period of time, the great inefficiency of the economic and political systems, and the bureaucratic-statist and normativist over-saturation of all social relations.

In that period, the LCY and society as a whole were burdened by ideopolitical dogmas, opportunism, the resistance motivated by wishes to preserve the status quo in social relations, and the defense at any price of everything that obviously represented the superseded policy. This was primarily present in the LCY leaderships and other social organs.

Bearing all this in mind, it was clear that the balance of power was still unfavorable for those forces in the LCY and society which demanded radical changes in the social system as the only possible alternative for surmounting the economic and social crisis that had already taken deep root.

Such global relations and characteristics in the LCY and society were illustrated by an opportunistic and hostile attitude toward the demands of the party grass roots for radical changes. These radical changes were voiced in proposals for the conclusions of the 13th Session of the LCY Central Committee in 1984; the non-implementation of a long-term program for economic stabilization, regardless of the fact that it was not sufficiently radical in terms of a market economy; and the non-implementation of political platforms on Kosovo. On the other hand, a critical analysis of the political system's functioning from today's point of view was a great mistake, because it either consciously or unconsciously presented the idea that there is no need for any essential changes in the system.

Bearing all this in mind, as well as all the complexity of the problems, the heightened social crisis, and the ineffectiveness of the measures that were undertaken, it has been shown that consciousness has still not developed regarding the depth of the crisis and its main and basic causes, nor has a realistic political consciousness been (?reached here) regarding the need for a new phase in the development of socialism and in specific possibilities for the way out of the crisis.

On this basis, the ideological dimensions of global reform could not be sharpened either. All hopes were placed on the existing institutional provisions and on the power and ability of organized socialist forces to be able to resolve the problems that had arisen.

One of the main characteristics of this inter-congress period, which put the basic hallmark on all social relations, was our society's extremely intensified economic, political, ideological, and moral crisis. This heightening of social relations most [word indistinct] showed the crisis' real depth, the (?present) and long-term serious negative implications if the crisis was prolonged, the basic contradictions which the crisis took to the extreme, and the untenability of such a situation.

In brief, over this period, all problems and contradictions, mistakes, weaknesses, misconceptions, and so on came to the surface in a basically explosive way. These had over a considerable number of years been created, had amassed, and more or less consciously or unconsciously had been concealed, and there were delays in their being revealed to society and in the search for the appropriate solutions. In this respect, it is necessary to stress that despite the fact that it was quite clear that the crisis was at its zenith, certain forces were not willing to admit this and to embark on quickly, efficiently, and thoroughly sorting out the basic causes which had generated and heightened the crisis.

In this respect, a stand was gradually and painstakingly taken on the necessity for deep-rooted changes, but we nevertheless proceeded with half-baked solutions and covert and overt resistance.

Bearing all this in mind, I think that the criticism was unacceptable, which consciously tried to connect the crisis' culmination and roots with the leadership's policy that was conducted in this inter-congress period, even though this leadership can bear serious criticism concerning a certain degree of vacillation, mistakes, insufficient decisiveness, a particularist approach in resolving the complex crisis, and so on. On the other hand, the very ferocity of the crisis and the difficult problems which it imposed produced a widespread and basically differentiated consciousness among working people, Communists, and the scientific and expert public. This crisis also produced a definite tipping of the scales in the balance of power in leaderships in favor of deep-rooted reforms. All this was a basic positive and driving factor in approaching global social reforms in the economic and political systems and in the transformation of the LCY itself.

The height of the economic and social crisis' ferocity was manifested in this period through very serious disturbances in all economic trends and in the great social tension that emerged from this. There was basically stagnation in production, stagnation in investment in the general development of production forces and especially technological development, the crude undermining of reproduction trends and the market, and the further disintegration of the economy, which was basically an extension and escalation of the situation and processes dating back to the previous period of time.

The most complex and serious expression of all these disturbances was the constant, increasing, and galloping inflation, which became hyperinflation. All this together, but inflation in particular, led to essentially confused relations in the economic system and, confused basic criteria and motives of economic operations. The logical consequence of this was that very serious processes of social division, a fall in the living standard, an increase in unemployment, and so on had to follow.

Because of all this, social tension among the broadest strata of the people was very great. This produced considerable dissatisfaction, social protests, strikes, and the like. However, despite the negative implications, all these disturbances in the economy and the major social changes had a very stimulating influence on all the social relations in the sense of radical changes in an awareness and attitudes in the necessity of making effective, quick, and thorough changes in the economic and political systems.

The inter-congress period was burdened by very serious and negative escalation of all of the country's political relations. This relates particularly to the widest and increasingly aggressive activity of nationalisms of all hues; the increasing confrontations between republican and provincial leaderships; the prevention of the free movement of people and economic currents; the numerous and extremely unfavorable and unprincipled statements and activities of certain organs and, in particular, individuals, in the struggle to win election points; the extremely unprincipled and destructive attacks on certain holders of public positions; and the organization of protest meetings and rallies with differing attitudes toward their aims and content.

Under the pressure of political and social contradictions and serious problems and the inertia and opportunism of the leading structures, changes have been made to political leaderships and state organs in some republics, and both provinces and differentiation has been carried out in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and in almost all LC central and provincial committees.

Likewise, the extremely overheated political situation was also caused by the phenomena of blocking and resistance to the constitutional and other systemic changes; the completion of reform and the consistent guarantee of the federation's functions, as well as phenomena of changes to its character, various attacks on the federation's position and role, attacks on the person and works of Tito, on the system of all-people's defense and particularly the Yugoslav People's Army; the confrontations and manipulations surrounding the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and general attacks on the position and role of the LC and on the independence and nonaligned foreign policy of the country; the launching of various hostile theories about redrawing Yugoslavia's borders in one way or another; and even the formation of several national-chauvinistic and fascist-like association

All these extremely negative occurrences and tendencies were, among other things, favored by frequently (?perfidious) opportunists, defensive attitudes, and ideological neutrality of the League of Communists and other progressive forces in society; by the flirting of some political leaderships and individuals—especially in the republics—with nationalist forces in their own midst; and by occurrences ranging all the way to the extreme indolence and inefficiency and irresponsibility of the institutions of the law-governed state at all the levels in terms of the implementation of its functions as determined by the Constitution and the law. All this makes the questions of responsibility of all these subjects and individuals topical and acute to the extreme, and everybody must bear responsibility for what they have been charged with.

The essence and the motives of such an exacerbation of political relations lie above all in the conflict of the forces that either support or oppose the reform, regardless of what they declare formally in public; in the retention of the old positions of privilege or monopoly in the economic or political fields or the gaining of new ones; in making various partial interests absolute and in individuals and groups retaining power and authority at various levels, especially at the level of the republics; in the retention of bureaucratic statist relations; and in making the national state absolute as the only and final expression of the sovereignty of the peoples and interests of man as a citizen and a creator of material and spiritual values.

On the other hand, an essential factor in the (?exacerbation) of political relations was the forces that under the guise of criticism of the present shortcomings want to promote the deepest nihilism toward everything that exists, with the single aim of completely devaluing and destroying the essential postulates and the basic values of socialism in our country and the nature of relations in our federal community.

An essential characteristic of the overall social and political processes between the 13th and the 14th extraordinary congresses is the opening of a wide process of the deepening of the overall democratic relations in society. In this connection I particularly want to stress that the process of the development of democracy in our country has enjoyed a clear and substantial continuity in its development through history, having obtained a new content during the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, in the bold opening of the process of self-management—which in its essence is a deep democratic and humanistic category—in the opening of the process of democratization of relations in almost all spheres of life and work in general, and in political relations.

All these processes of gaining space for democracy have displayed a constant upward development and trends, including of course various shortcomings, falls, limitations, and the like. Because of all this, I think that the League of Communists cannot accept certain theses that consciously or unconsciously want to show that democracy is beginning only with the present period, and that the level of development of the democratic relations in our country is identical with the relations in the countries of so-called real socialism, and the like.

It is quite clear that such theses have no basis in reality, for democracy never begins or ends in a certain period, but is a process of a constant struggle by man and society for winning new scope and new prospects of democracy and freedom. By way of illustration, I recall some incontrovertible facts that indicate the presence and the development of some basic democratic freedoms, rights, and institutions, such as full national equality of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, free movement of people and the opening of borders a long time ago and far in advance of many other countries, full and unhindered religious freedom, the opening of the process of various forms of direct and so-called economic democracy, and various other freedoms and rights.

As an expression of such a continuity in the development of democratic relations and of the very gravity of the social crisis, objectively speaking, a qualitatively new growth of democracy could occur during this period. This new growth could be seen particularly in the sphere of an even greater affirmation of the power of a democratic, public radical opening of electoral processes. This opening will proceed from the grass roots; involve several candidates; and ensure the freedom of publicly presenting one's opinion and criticism, the specific manifestation of the freedom to gather in public, the freedom of political associations and organizations, the freedom of the press, and the like. All that has made it possible for the creative potential of the broadest strata of working people and citizens, as well as creative scientists and experts, to achieve a more complete and wider expression. They have become aware that alternative movements are a constituent element of democratic and developmental processes in society, and that for the social and political organs to achieve a more democratic and better quality of political decisionmaking concerning social issues, greater openness, a critical mind, and more alternatives are necessary. All these together have created a significant factor to help us face true roots of our social crisis and to achieve reformist orientations in society, as well as to open an even deeper process of social democratization.

Apart from initial dilemmas, vacillations, hesitations, and the like, the special characteristic of this period is expressed in the fact that awareness finally prevailed of the need for a radical change in perceiving the real hotbeds and causes of the whole social crisis. The League of Communists and society in general have clearly realized that these roots must above all be sought in certain basic ideopolitical and systemic premises of the economic and political system and in the real position and role of the League of Communists, as well as in the real character of relations in society that has been built and realized on the basis of such systemic premises.

Therefore, awareness and orientations have made it clear that it is impossible to solve the crisis without radically changing all those ideopolitical premises and systemic solutions that appear to be the basic generators of the crisis. In such a critical and creative atmosphere that has, objectively speaking, been followed by various (?deviations), vacillations, and controversies, one has clearly realized that the former model of socioeconomic and political relations in our country has objectively exhausted its developmental possibilities over a longer period—and that is particularly clear today—although it had rendered significant results and expressed itself as a dynamic developmental factor under the social and historical conditions of the past. Therefore, this period in fact represents an end of a very stormy, dynamic, and contradictory stage of our socialist development. On the other hand, our society has at this time designed and blueprinted starting points for broaching the process of a radically new stage of development of socialism in our country.

As an expression of such clear reformatory orientations and activities of the LCY, we launched an initiative for adopting significant changes in the SFRY Constitution, above all in the sphere of socioeconomic relations and the economic system, and they were introduced during 1988. The first LCY Conference resolutely decided in favor of three global but interconnected social reforms and the adoption of the new SFRY Constitution. On the basis of this, the SFRY Presidency has already launched the initiative for the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution.

Proceeding from this, the Federal Executive Council initiated at the beginning of 1989 a process of specific measures for a profound economic reform. At the end of last year, it proposed to the SFRY Assembly that it complete the economic reform as well as an initiative for formulating some other parts of the SFRY Constitution.

Despite everything that manifested itself in the unfavorable situation, processes, and relations in the economic and political spheres, I think that it is quite obvious and indisputable that in our overall development in the inter-congress period, certain positive processes have occurred and that some significant results have been achieved in the material, spiritual, cultural, creative, political, and overall social development.

In the economic sphere, we should note the increasingly present orientation of economic entities toward a more efficient adaptation to the new market and world criteria for conducting business affairs. This orientation is beginning to show some initial material and financial results, and a significant rise in production and income in some branches and organizations. We should also note an increasing orientation which shows specific and important results in the field of exports and in joining the world market in general. The small business sector is increasingly growing and affirming itself, and so forth.

We have also achieved very good results in the fields of science, culture, and spiritual creativity in general, both at home and abroad, despite the crisis.

As regards political relations, I think that it is of special importance to emphasis the fact that under such tempestuous, difficult, and contradictory economic conditions for our peoples' lives and work, the citizens from all over Yugoslavia demonstrated an exceptionally high awareness and determination to find a way out of the crisis; to start fundamental reforms; to efficiently resolve certain acute and extremely difficult problems of society, such as the counterrevolution in Kosovo and similar things; to ensure the total stability and independence of the Yugoslav community; to ensure to all peoples and nationalities a peaceful and stable life on equal footing; and to continue along the road of socialist self-managing development under the new conditions. All this points out that we have all the necessary socioeconomic and political prerequisites, and, above all, a conscious and creative human factor which can rely upon itself and carry out major changes and visions that should ensure an even better, richer, and more humane life to all of our people.

Comrades, the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has an extremely great significance and responsibility, because, at this congress, we must determine the starting ideopolitical foundations of a new development stage of socialism in our country and, in this context, of our program precepts regarding the reforms in the economic and political systems and in the transformation of the LCY.

The great topical significance of the further development of socialism in Yugoslavia arises from the fact that we are objectively at the conclusion of the present development stage of socialism, which, with all its values, contradictions, and shortcomings, has objectively exhausted its development possibilities. Therefore, numerous questions and dilemmas are urgently being posed as to the foundations on which the new model of socialism should be built.

In this connection, at our congress as well as during the work on drafting the new LCY Program, we must reply to these questions:

First, what are the premises and principles that because of the original essence and nature of socialism must continue to be fundamental in its new development stage?

Second, what are the elements that we must reaffirm as the essential content of socialism but have been neglected for some reason or another, and that have been proven constructive and generally humane in the overall civilizational development and achievements?

Third, what premises should be abandoned because of their ideological one-sidedness and unsuitability at the present time, their ideological ballast, their lack of confirmation, and their being obsolete in practice, and the like?

And fourth, what are the new essential contents that are an expression of the present and future social development in our country and in the world and that we must build into our social system as a whole?

It is only in this analytical, critical, and creative manner that we can overcome the existing occurrences of an uncritical dogmatic attitude toward the present system and practice, the apologetic attitude and euphoria in connection with certain ideas that are being launched, and even the creation of some kind of equally dangerous neodogmatism and the idealization and glorification of the bourgeois system as the ultimate in the development of human society and civilization.

The socialist world is now confronted with a very sharp crisis and social upheavals. In this connection, when we speak about the crisis of the system of the so-called real socialist countries, I think that it is important to stress that in essence this is a crisis of a certain model of socialism. This model has been dominantly based on bureaucratic-statist and centralist foundations, on a typical state economy, on a harsh alienation of the authorities and repression of the people, on an omnipotent state, on an absolutely leading and commanding role of the party and its identification with the state, on no preferment for basic human, national, and political freedoms and rights and their utterly restrictive implementation, and on the like.

In bearing all this in mind, it is quite clear that such an eruptive crisis of the system had to happen in these countries, for this system in all its features was far removed from the basic and authentic premises of socialism and from the basic interests and strivings of the people. This system was at odds with the overall democratic and progressive aspirations, basic processes, and laws characterizing the modern world.

Although it has been developing the concept and the practice of a socialist self-managing society for 4 decades, and despite the huge results, our country has fallen into a deep economic and political crisis. The causes of our crisis are basically known, but I would add that the basic essential cause is that we have not always consequently pursued to the end the realization of many great and radical processes and reforms that we achieved. We remained at half way, or we set up certain idealized concepts unsuitable to the time.

For instance, even as far back as 1958, the LCY program contained the orientation toward a market economy, but we still went on applying the model of the consenus economy in our systemic solutions and practice. This was in essence a surrogate or a compromise for the market economy. Similarly, we have not ensured the economic and political dominance of self-management over statism. We started to glorify central statism in the name of self-management and decentralization and to make it absolute. We reached a crude disintegration and autarky, as well as fenced off national economies instead of a unified Yugoslav market and broader processes of integration in the country and the world. We substituted the original position of the man and citizen for various forms of collectivism and similar things.

Moreover, bearing in mind the basic elements of the crisis in socialism in general and in our country in particular, in our ideopolitical activities we as the LCY must assume active and energetic ideopolitical attitudes against all those tendencies, phenomena, and forces, which, under the guise of the criticism of the current development and weaknesses of socialism in general as well as in our country, consciously and with clear political aims want to completely identify and equate the development of Yugoslav socialism with the so-called real socialism and its bureaucratic-statist and centralistic distortions.

It is quite clear to everyone that Yugoslavia never constructed such a system completely and comprehensively, because as early as the 1950's it inaugurated radically new processes of developing self-managing and democratic socialism. On the other hand, in the struggle for developing new foundations and visions of our socialism, the LCY must make a clear ideopolitical distinction and must oppose all those attempts and aspirations that want to equate the major shortcomings and distortions with the very essence of socialism and, on this basis, totally negate its vitality and general prospects on a world scale and in Yugoslavia.

Therefore, if we accept some kind of vanguard role, revolutionary spirit, and profound Marxist thought, I think that we must generally reject the present phenomena that are being manifested through the confusion of crude nihilism, the feeling of hopelessness, apathy, and even the aggressive attacks by typical antisocialist and anticommunists forces.

In this connection I want to particularly stress that least acceptable for the LCY are some theses which regard socialism, in the context of its present crisis and reforms, as some kind of ideological doctrinaire and even political-voluntarist creation. One can easily recognize a new (?coarse) bourgeois ideological dogmatism which proclaims capitalism to be the pinnacle and the end of the development of human society, civilization, and progress. This particularly applies, because we must not formally reduce socialist ideas and practice to socialist countries alone, since socialism is in fact a world process in its essence and development tendencies, regardless of the forms and substance it takes.

The cracking or collapse of specific deformed and inhuman systems in individual socialist countries to all intents and purposes introduces the belief that socialism can usher in new developmental chances. Therefore, in our search for new visions, ways, and instruments for the further development of socialism, we should not be pressured by the heavy burden of the crisis, but we must respect and realize developmental dialectics of every human society in general and, in this context, in our socialist society.

On this basis, I think that there is the already indisputable entire ideological and political consciousness that socialism is a new stage in the development of human society and that it is a transitional society and, as such, that it must necessarily retain from the previous society certain elements, which are an expression of the given socioeconomic laws and production forces and relations as well as the entire civilizational range of the development of humanity.

In the same way, the least disputable thing can be that this transitional society must essentially constitute and realize—both on its ideological programmatic basis and at the level of realistic social relations—new social relations that will offer the basic and prevalent characteristics of socialism. These social relations will make a better and more progressive society in a specific historical sense and in the long-term historic future. This is all the more so because it is quite clear that socialism is an expression of historic necessity and of the laws governing the development of society and production forces.

It is also the expression of the widest, imminent, and irresistible aspirations and struggle of the person—as the creator of material and spiritual values and as a free creative personality—for his own emancipation and (?de-alienation), for controlling surplus value, and for the destruction of various monopolies in alienated centers of authority and power and any political system and form that would maintain them.

It is also indisputable that socialism and its ideas are, in their essence, values, and perspectives, increasingly becoming an integral part and expression of general achievements in civilization.

Therefore, all the arguments that, on behalf of alleged reform, plead for a blanket negation of self-management, social ownership, status and role of the working class in the modern sense of that word, class and general civilized nature of democracy, and so on have no real historic and social basis, because the true substance of these forms of negation is not to bring about a genuine reform commitment. They either amount to an inability to open up real, new, and revolutionary solutions of the development of socialism or have a transparent ideopolitical aim of bringing down socialism.

However, to highlight this question can by no means be some kind of dogmatism and advocacy of the status quo, because the essential reforms which we are proclaiming must contain the destruction of dogmas and the opening of new revolutionary visions and cannot in the least mean regression. Therefore, all these processes of the global upheaval of socialism cannot lead us toward destruction and withdrawal from the basic premises of democratic socialism. On the contrary, the deep crisis must be a strong motivating factor and stimulus for the investigation of new ways to develop our socialism.

In searching for the appropriate responses for socialism and the challenges of the present times, I think that these must be founded on a scientific basis that will be oriented to a way out of the crisis and to the opening of new perspectives. This scientific basis will mean respect for social and economic laws at home and abroad and will be an expression of a common Yugoslav synthesis and platform.

These orientations have been clearly expressed and stressed at all republican LC congresses and conferences, which is basically the demand of the whole membership and other sections of society. All essential strategic orientations on the vision of our further socialist development, the reform of the economic and political systems, and the transformation of the LCY have been built into the programmatic documents that were presented for the 14th extraordinary congress.

In proceeding from all this, as the synthesized expression of all these orientations, I would highlight several basic strategic directions of our further overall development:

—An even deeper grounding of our socialist development in its original premises and modern progressive social thought through its creative application;
ialectical synthesis between progressive achievements and civilizing values of present-day societies and political systems on the one hand, and basic premises and values of socialism as a society in transition on the other hand;

—Further enhancement and protection of the basic achievements and values of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, such as socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, the equality of our peoples and nationalities, the AVNOJ foundations of the federal structure, independence and nonalignment in the foreign policy of our country, and the further affirmation and consolidation of those ideas, principles, and values that have been affirmed in our development so far;

—The implementation of socialism as an economically efficient system through a market economy, pluralism of ownership, an integral market, the establishment of overall social development on the achievements of science and technological and technical progress, participation in the international division of labor and economic integration, maximum economic motivation, initiative, and the use of know-how and creativity in general, all with the aim of providing a far richer material and spiritual life for the individual and society as a whole;

—The construction of such a political system of socialism in our country in which the basic subject will be the indivdual, who will be the creator of material and intellectual values and will be a free and creative political person; a system which will constantly expand the scope of human freedoms and rights, humanism, solidarity, and reciprocity; a system which will really strengthen democracy, secure the free expression of political pluralism and the efficient functioning of the law-governed state, with the aim of protecting human freedoms and rights, social values, and the social structure of the country; and, on all these bases, a system which will eliminate all forms of power and monopoly over people, the economy, surplus value, and society;

—The expression of Yugoslavia as an entity and as an active and integral part and factor of all progressive processes in Europe, understanding Europe to be the closest integral community to which Yugoslavia organically belongs. Yugoslavia also plays such a role in the nonaligned movement and in world processes on the basis of the principles of independence, autonomy, and nonalignment.

Comrades, the report on the LCY activities and the work of the LCY Central Committee between the 13th Congress and the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the LCY Declaration, and the program documents on the reform of the economic and political system and the transformation of the League of Communists all present exhaustive assessments on the LCY work to date on the basic causes of the crisis, and especially the further directions of the implementation of the social reforms. Bearing all this in mind, I will briefly emphasize only some of the most important questions in the field of implementation of the three reforms.

The economic reform which the LCY is advocating demands a break with the traditional concepts of the economy and of economic life under socialism. This reform avoids coercion or economic laws containing substitutes for the market and the market economy. Economic efficiency of socialism in general and of our economic system in particular is an imperative and an essential condition of its existence and its further prospects, which is the basic criterion for its vitality and its development possibilities.

It is now quite clear that deciding in favor of a market economy does not display an ideological and political attitude but expresses compliance with economic laws that are imminent to the commodity production method. Under such new conditions, labor and the attitude toward labor may indeed become the basis for a continuous and dynamic material development of society and for a better and richer life for the people.

Proceeding from all this, the priority tasks in the economic reform are directed toward an affirmation of a modern market economy, an integral market, a market of goods, know-how, and capital, entrepreneurship, a pluralism of the forms of ownership and an equal treatment of these forms, the transformation of social property into social capital, and a full independence and free association of all subjects in the economy as commodity producers.

Equality and pluralism of different forms of ownership must become a law of our social and economic life, because this is the precondition for a successful and efficient material and social development. Both the workers and the management structure that manage social enterprises, as well as the owners and those employed in enterprises under different forms of ownership, must be equally motivated in achieving a high level of entrepreneurship and efficiency of business operations; the economic laws and risks of market operations must apply to all of them equally; and they must display maximum initiative, creativity, innovation, and rationality in business operations.

In this context it is essential to submit social property, as social capital, to the market competition of other forms of ownership. Under these conditions it must show its vitality and efficiency and achieve expanded reproduction. It must be in the hands of those workers and work collectives and business structures who, using it, can obtain the best market results.

However, to bring about this kind of character of social ownership, major current confusions, dilemmas, and controversies regarding the substance and prospects of this ownership have to be sorted out. Above all, the League of Communists must energetically clear up in an ideological and political way the existing theses that social ownership is an artificial economic category, that it has no realistic prospects, and that a complete reprivatization of social property is the only solution, and the like. In this connection, one seems consciously to forget that socialization of property in general is an imminent economic law, even in the most developed capitalism, and that social ownership is one of the essential foundations of socialism.

Objectively speaking, these questions have led to great concern, uncertainty, and big ideological and political dilemmas among the broadest strata of working people and citizens, particularly in the workers' class. Therefore, it should be completely clear and unambiguous to the League of Communists that within pluralism and equality of all forms of ownership, we must make thorough changes possible in order to have workers (?be) owners—in an economic and legal sense—of the social property, thereby ensuring maximum economic motivation and a constant increase in social accumulation.

On the basis of all this, one will ensure acquisition and the increase of social property, as well as its full economic efficiency and competitiveness, as compared with other forms of property. Objectively speaking, without such an essential transformation, it cannot be equal and competitive, which could lead to deep and extremely unfavorable social, economic, and political implications in overall social relations.

In advocating economic reform, we must not for a single moment forget self-management and its economic, developmental, social, communist, and democratic values. Having abandoned the system of integral self-management, as being unrealistic under the conditions of the modern level of development of production forces and social relations, we must work on reaffirming self-management under new market conditions; and on removing many bureaucratic and similar obstacles and blockades which were (?in fact created) by self-management, so that workers, managers and experts in enterprises can be motivated as much as possible to increase production and earning and to remove unfavorable results and losses by efficient work and business operations. However discontented and critical we may be toward its development in our country, self-management is today one of the basic creative and development instruments as well as our future.

One of the key questions for the League of Communists and society in general that has gained particular importance under the conditions of an integral market and a market economy, is the position and role of workers and a workers' class, that is, working people who are the basics protagonists of productive, intellectual, scientific, and technical development.

The importance and complex nature of these questions is all the greater, because it is an axiom that such a modern workers' class is the basic subject and protagonist of overall material and spiritual development and progress in general; and, on the other hand, that the position and role of the workers is multi-dimensional and contradictory, because they will appear as workers and entrepreneurs in social enterprises, as co-owners and workers in cooperative enterprises, and as workers in private enterprises.

Bearing all this in mind, as well as our attitudes toward self-management and participation, the LCY, in its program and political orientations and actions, cannot distance itself or negate the role of the workers and the workers' class in the new conditions of the market economy. On the contrary, their role in the work process and in decisionmaking must be manifested as comprehensively as possible. When stressing this, I refer to varied and even contradictory views and concepts about class-social relations and the general role of the workers and the workers' class in the new conditions. There are also the views that totally negate their role.

However, neither the workers' class, nor the LCY as its vanguard, will or can renounce this role in the process of work and in society as a whole, regardless of different views and political stands.

Some of the key questions and conditions without which we cannot continue are the consistent functioning of the market economy, the realization of the social reform as a whole, the implementation of the macro-economic functions of the state, and especially of the federal state, which are germane to the present day market economy. Therefore, the concept and the system of the macro-economic functions of the federation simply cannot and must not be a sort of political deal or a compromise between various particularist interests and the like, but must be an expression of objective economic laws and nature and the needs of the market economy and the unified Yugoslav market. Any other approach and solution can only be an expression of political voluntarism and the absolute control of partial interests and monopolies, that is, a direct anti-reform and anti-market orientation.

The economic and social reform can be successful only if it is carried out comprehensively in all its parts and aspects. One of its essential aspects is a profound reform of social activities and of the overall social superstructure, with which we have been fairly late and for which, I would say, we lack a consistent and developed concept.

We need social activities organized in a modern, up-to-date way, activities that are efficient in their work, activities that provide a high quality service and have good work results, and activities capable of successfully satisfying the needs of the people, who are an essential factor of production and reproduction and are the exponents of modern progress.

This requires the creation of conditions in which the market will value the results of these activities wherever this is possible. Their development and business operations should become fully dependent on and linked with the economic and overall social development so that they can significantly influence this development.

Pluralism in the forms of ownership will place these activities on even more solid economic bases, develop private initiative even more, with a view to meeting the needs of the population even better, and break up many bureaucratic and other monopolies from the past, which have hampered man's efforts to solve his vital problems. In a word, the LCY must strive to ensure all economic, material, and social prerequisites so that social activities can function extremely rationally and, on the other hand, be one of the key factors and driving forces of the overall material, cultural, and spiritual development of our country and the affirmation of creativity and knowledge.

I want to particularly stress here that under the conditions of market operations and the strict logic of economic coercion, along with the constant increase in material wealth as an aim and condition for better life of the people, our society must comprehend and implement the premise that the essence of socialism is in its humanism, in which man is a creative personality, in which culture and spiritual creativity are the basic meaning and essence of man's existence, and in which culture, knowledge and creativity appear more and more as basic conditions and criteria of the overall development of society and the liberation of man's personality.

The system and policy of a quicker economic development of economically underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are an extremely significant economic and political question. It is our firm position that the policy of a quicker economic development of economically underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is our lasting orientation, above all because there are large gaps in the stages of development which must be gradually removed. It is necessary because the policy of stimulating underdeveloped regions is an inherent and organic element, even of most developed market economies in the modern world. It is also necessary because of the legitimate phenomenon of income flowing from underdeveloped to developed regions, and also because the integral Yugoslav market cannot function under the conditions of large disproportions and contradictions concerning the level of development.

Therefore, it is our firm orientation that one should form a new market development philosophy pertaining to underdeveloped regions, in conformity with economic aims and with the full recognition of the activity of the integral market. The current mostly administrative system of distributing incentives—with sociopolitical factors dominating the decisionmaking—should be abandoned and transformed into a new system that would yield better economic results. It is necessary to retain the Fund for Stimulating Quicker Economic Development, along with all other instruments, forms, and ways of implementing policies in this sphere, but the fund will have to be transformed in a financial and developmental sense.

Therefore, the economic reform should open prospects for a quicker socioeconomic and social development of society on the basis of more productive work, knowledge, and creativity, as well as increase productivity, exports, and gain, all of which should lead to a better and richer life for the working people and citizens.

We as the LCY must create a social climate and fully contribute to the realization of the economic reform and anti-inflationary measures that will quickly lead to a way out of the economic crisis.

As far as the basic content and directions of the reform of the political system are concerned, I think that they are essentially determined by the starting premises and the aims of the new stage in the development of socialism about which I have already spoken. I would like to particularly emphasize that the essential characteristic of our new concept of the political system is its realism in establishing goals, principles, and instruments that reflect the synthesis of our vision and what is realistically possible and feasible.

Man, as an individual and a social being, as the creator of material and intellectual values, and as a free and creative political person, with his inalienable freedoms and rights, has been placed even more firmly into the heart of our political system. In this process, the man and citizen is the basis and center from which aggregate political relations and the system as a whole originate, function, and develop.

Moreover, the reformed political system must be in such a relation to the economy of our society that it would facilitate the free functioning of the market economic laws, that is, the broadest possible emancipation of creativity, work, and initiatives. This is what it should be, rather than a political system that would be a factor of domination and coercion over the economy, the instrument of political voluntarism, and that would impose political power and might over the surplus value.

Another essential characteristic of the new political system is its specific and completely new democratic nature. In expressing a developmental and undogmatic approach to democracy, the new system has conceived an essentially novel vision, especially of political freedoms and rights of our people and citizens. Thus our commitment to political pluralism is a reflection of our perception that it is a category germane to every society, including our own, and that it is very significant driving and creative factor of social development. At the same time, this signifies a definite break with the remnants of monistic views on the world and political relations.

All of these ideological foundations will make it possible for the new political system to radically rid itself of the still present statism, bureaucratism, and normativism that have been hindering people's freedoms, their initiative and creativity, self-management, and democracy.

Our development hitherto is marked by certain results and the affirmation of numerous rights and freedoms of the man and citizen, and their protection. However, through the new political system, we must ensure that human rights and freedoms are expressed even more openly and efficiently and that they are realized as the highest human and social values. Through the affirmation of new democratic substance and the role of a law-governed state, we must ensure their inviolability against any monopolies, power, and authority, that is to say, their efficient protection.

Affirming political freedoms and rights of the people, such as the freedom to form political associations, to gather in public, to strike, to form independent trade union organizations, the freedom of press, and the like, including those political freedoms and rights in the system in a more complex way, is a radical step in broadening the freedoms and rights of man. The most important in this context is a global orientation toward political pluralism, including all aspects that will make an essentially different and qualitatively new imprint on the overall political organization of our society.

By freeing and articulating the creative potentials of society and of every individual citizen to the maximum, in the context of the development of socialism, self-management, and democracy, political pluralism must open processes in which the creators of material and spiritual values acquire surplus value. On that basis, political pluralism will enable the abolition of all kinds of monopoly. It should favorably influence general social integration and should not be a factor of division, particularly not national division. It should be a factor of an increased affirmation and realization of basic human values, rights, and freedoms, and not an arena for manipulating people. It should be a factor of a greater efficiency of the system and not one of blockage. It should provide room for an increased affirmation and realization of the principle of social responsibility and not for mutual accusations and confrontations.

Therefore, if we want to realize the given principles of political pluralism in our country, we should include in our methods of organization the wealth of the best democratic achievements that modern societies have made in political activity. Nevertheless, we should not use an uncritical imitation or an artificial transmission, but should further affirm and realize the established forms of direct socialist self-managing democracy that we have made in our development so far.

When establishing this phenomenon in the system and (?personalizing) it, we must have completely clear orientations which will serve the implementation of the foundations of our social setup and of political pluralism itself, and will not be their negation. In this sense, the theses that reduce the complete essence and forms of political pluralism to the classic multiparty system alone—although such a system is not excluded—as well as theses that state that political pluralism cannot have any constitutional limits, are unacceptable to the League of Communists.

It is completely clear that in any class society and its appropriate political system, political pluralism is determined by the character of the individual social setup and by the foundations upon which it is based. Therefore, political pluralism in our country also has to be based on socialist orientation, a federal organization, and the protection of basis human and social (?values). Being objective factors, they must be built into our constitutional and legal system.

In this process our law-governed state must rigorously and vigorously foil the organization or the activity of any political associations or parties whose program orientations aim at overthrowing the basis of our system, or proceed from nationalist, chauvinist, religious, or any other confrontations, sow hatred, negate human and national freedoms and rights, and are in general contradiction with the communist and general civilized values.

The latest events in the country have demonstrated the necessity to establish such normative and political frameworks of political pluralism. The widest strata of the working people and citizens in the country also demand that political organization on the basis of the above-mentioned hostile aims be energetically stopped. Memories of our history in its widest context, the million casualties of our peoples and nationalities and their commitment to a life together within the gambit of Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ principles, and all the progressive forces of our society, represent the strongest barrier to the most sinister forces and ideologies which are attempting to emerge on the Yugoslav political scene, that is to say, the protection of our well-known basic social values and achievements.

The LC is resolutely advocating that the powers of the assemblies as organs of legislative power and control over the executive and administrative organs be precisely defined in the reform of the assembly system. These changes should make it possible for the assemblies to become the basic institutions of our social and state system, an irreplaceable factor in the democratization of society, and the building of a law-governed state and rule of law. In the further formulation of the organization of political authority, we must clarify more profoundly and precisely the issues and the dilemmas surrounding the principles of the assembly system or principles of the division of power on legislative, executive, and judiciary bodies. The final solutions should protect the basic premises and objectives of our political system.

Similarly, in our preparations for the drafting of a new SFRY Constitution, at this congress we must draw up far clearer guidelines on this and on the main subjects of the political or assembly system.

This is why I think that we should draw a clear conclusion that the man is the basis of the entire political organization of society. This means that in the assemblies, he must be represented as a subject who creates material and social values, as a citizen who is a free creative person, and as a member of a particular nation or nationality.

In the reform of the election system, the LC advocates that its further democratization should ensure free, general, direct, and secret elections with several candidates, that is to say, to express and articulate the basic content and aims of our political system, and in this context, the essence of political pluralism.

In the election process it is especially important to ensure the democratization of the process of nominating candidates, the complete openness of the cadre policy, which should affirm expert and able people who enjoy good reputation in their own and other communities, as well as to establish the role of the Socialist Alliance and other organizations and political subjects within them. This will contribute to the elections being conducted as a direct political and democratic act by the citizens.

Instead of political voluntarism and subjectivism, we need a consistent application of the Constitution and the law in accordance with the achievements of a modern law-governed civilization. The framework and limits of the state and its powers should only be determined by the Constitution and the law and should be accompanied by the full democratic control of the people, who display their indivisible and inviolable sovereignty through the adoption of the firmer social decisions, rather than through flexible principles that serve the republican political aims.

The principles of a modern law-governed and social state, which the LC is striving for, assume various forms of direct and representational democracy; the full autonomy and independence of the courts; and the independence, responsibility, efficiency, and rational organization of state organs. These principles also would provide for a state which would ensure the conditions necessary for a richer and freer life and social protection of individuals and society, and which would be controlled with various democratic means ranging from assemblies to various institutions of the democratic public.

Proceeding from the fact that at this Congress, Communists will establish the strategic directions of all social reforms, I would like to stress particularly that it is neither possible to find the solution to the crisis nor to implement the reform without a clear and principled establishment of the place and role of the Yugoslav Federation. In this connection we must proceed from the fact that the Yugoslav federation cannot at all be treated as a voluntarist or incidental historical creation. On the contrary, it was an expression of historical aspirations and ideals of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, created in the national liberation war and socialist revolution on the AVNOJ principles through the will of the people, and established as a community of equal peoples and nationalities whose sovereignty is expressed and realized through the role of the republic and federation.

Survival on the foundations of AVNOJ and the development of the Yugoslav Federation as a democratic, efficient, and modern community is in the strategic and historic interests of all our peoples and nationalities. The struggle against all forces which in various ways seek to destabilize, retailor, and destroy present Yugoslavia, is in fact a struggle for the national affirmation and identity of all our peoples and nationalities and their coexistence.

We must be clear and resolute in our determination at this congress to equip the federation as an efficient and law-governed state with effective macroeconomic and social functions, appropriate to the role of a modern state in a market economy. It must become efficient in solving problems of the community in general on the macroeconomic scale, in protecting the united market and the equality of economic subjects in it, in regulating the taxation system and the credit-monetary policy, in protecting the constitutional position of peoples and nationalities, the rights and freedoms of man, territorial integrity and constitutional order of the country, in creating the united system of all-people's defense, in establishing and realizing the foreign policy of the SFRY, as well as in regulating economic relations with foreign countries.

Proceeding from the essence and character of the national liberation war and socialist revolution, socialist self-management and the role of man as the basic subject of conceiving and realizing his vital and historic interests, the system of all-people's defense, the framework of which is the Yugoslav People's Army, represents the expression of the concept of armed people in contemporary conditions. By developing and adapting itself all the time, this system has proven itself as an effective instrument for the protection of the achievements and values of our society, as the basis of its constitutional order and territorial integrity, and as the basis of the sovereignty and independence of our country. As the united and joint armed forces of our nations and nationalities, the Yugoslav People's Army has always consistently realized its constitutionally established role, remaining a solid bulwark against all possible attacks on our country.

Bearing all this in mind, as well as the contemporary processes, trends, and situation in military political relations in the world, the LCY advocates the further affirmation of the system of all-people's defense and its further consolidation and efficiency, including its constant improvement and development as appropriate to its original bases and the present times. Therefore, society must also create all the necessary political-normative, material, and other prerequisites for the realization of such aims. The struggle to conceive and realize a new political system can only be successful if along with this, the League of Communists and society in general commit themselves to solving the most pressing and urgent political problems of society, about which we have very clear orientations and stances.

The struggle for overcoming the crisis and for reforms and new visions of development must also mean the struggle against the escalation of all forms of nationalism, separatism, and unitarism and the effective overcoming of the occurrences of crude political confrontations between certain leaderships and the elimination of their causes, because this is a direct negation of the interests of all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, both collectively and individually.

It is likewise necessary to build and to implement an extremely responsible attitude toward the functioning of the federation and toward the implementation of joint and common interests of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. It is necessary to prevent various blockages of the federal organs, especially when it is a matter of realizing and implementing important reform and constitutional solutions, because objectively speaking blockages cannot be in the interest of any people. It is also necessary to efficiently prevent coarse attacks that have clear recognizable aims of destabilizing Yugoslavia as a whole and attacks on the system of the all-people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Bearing in mind that the counterrevolution in Kosovo is the most direct and crude attack and danger to the territorial integrity and stability of the country, the LCY and the entire society must engage even more energetically in curbing and eliminating the hotbeds and roots causes of it, that is, we must foil Albanian nationalists and separatists in their attempts to create an ethnically pure Kosovo and other parts of the country in order to secede from Yugoslavia.

Likewise, by all political and other means and a consistent functioning of a law-governed state, we must stop the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, and the other non-Albanian population from this area and create the conditions for the return of all those who want to live and work there. The initial results in implementing our commitments must motivate us even more energetically to consistently implement the political platform on Kosovo, the conclusions of the 9th and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee and the resolution we propose to this congress. The implementation of all these goals necessarily demands far greater unity in the action on a clear, Yugoslav, socialist, and AVNOJ-based platform.

Drafting and implementing overall social reforms necessarily demands a new and efficient League of Communists. I believe that the most significant part of a transformation of the League of Communists is its orientation on the concept and content of the economic and political reforms, since without changes and innovations in the party ideology, in particular in relation to the key questions of the economy and political system, the transformation would be some kind of an internal activity that would not lead to comprehensive changes in society.

Proceeding from the development of social relations and the precepts of the League of Communists and society, we are proposing to the 14th extraordinary congress that it adopt a stand on the necessity to draft a new program of the LCY and that, in taking into account the great and far-reaching changes in the world and in our society, the program should express all those things which could become a mobilizing and emancipating content of the objectives and action of the LCY.

Therefore, this is a matter of a transformation of the LCY in which its role will be suitable to a new project of socialism, the market economy, a pluralist political system, a law-governed state, and the like, which means a role that will ensure an encouragement to all the integrating forces of society and democratic relations in Yugoslavia. This would enable all the working and creating potentials of society to be expressed as strongly as possible, and would contribute on this basis to the fastest and most dynamic development of society.

However, this should not mean, as some protagonists of alien ideologies and policies wish to show, that with social reforms and its transformation, the League of Communists should descend from the political stage and become some kind of a debating club. On the contrary: Through a struggle for a new model and a new development phase of socialism, an objective and very favorable consistent political basis for the reaffirmation of the League of Communists is being created. Freed from all existing dogmas and bureaucratic-statist constraints, the League of Communists can be transformed into a modern ideological and political force of the working class, fit for the existing progressive changes and further development of social relations on a socialist basis.

Under the conditions of political pluralism, its worker class character and organic connection with the workers' class, in the real sense of the word, are much more affirmed and strengthened, as is its general Yugoslav platform for the development of socialism in our country and the revival of the equality among the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. We are also striving for the broadest possible comprehension of the social basis of the LC and its broader reliance on the emancipating needs of society.

The most important thing for the LC is to proceed from the view that its social basis is dynamic, that this dynamism is concurrent with the changes in the structure and character of work and production. Therefore, the modern notion of the workers' class should be understood in its broadest sense. This notion assumes that the workers are the exponents of the production, scientific, intellectual, and technical progress. Similarly, its program orientations and their existing progressive and developmental innovations, and its expression as the ruling party, as well as the direct political action for their implementation, are a strong guarantee for the expression of its vanguard nature, revolutionary spirit, and attraction to the workers' class and others.

Developing all democratic institutions and relations in society, breaking all monopolies of power and authority, including its own monopoly, the LCY will in periods ahead fight for power through all the institutions and mechanisms of the political system, which will mean a struggle for a revival of its political orientations. The essence of this struggle is not for power for any individual, nor for the LC itself, but for power for those who are creating the surplus value, for the power of man as a producer and free and creative person.

A particularly significant direction of a reform of internal relations in the LC refers to the new comprehension of unity in the LC. One direction of change is toward definitively abandoning a concept, according to which the social and political role of the LC in society is expressed in its functioning as a party of the system. At the same time, we are increasingly affirming the LC as the party of the workers' and progressive movement that, within actual political relations, is continuously affirming and innovating its political programs with the aim of securing a continual and dynamic development of society.

In these new conditions the LC acts as a unified organization in which all of its constituent parts are developing and realizing common and unified policy, not in all the details but within the boundaries of the LCY program and the LCY statute. However, this unity must be now be developed and realized in a new way. This is now a unity which implies basic strategic questions of a realization of our socialism. In this way we must shift the emphasis from a political comprehension of unity, which in an earlier practice could even be imposed from above and dressed in the cloak of a phony monolithism, which strengthened its uniformity.

This means that the unity is becoming another phrase for the widely understood idea and orientation toward the basic values on which the existence and development of Yugoslav society will be based. On the basis of such global knowledge and orientations about the strategic directions of society, the LC membership, organs, and organizations must develop and realize concrete political programs, stances, and orientations, which would be an expression of political and action unity of the LCY at all levels. I think that the political unity of the LC understood in this way, and its unity as an organization essentially and in principle, eliminates motives and various modalities that would mean a federalization or disintegration of the LCY, that is, a violation of its basic principles of unity.

The topicality and necessity of establishing and developing this kind of democratic and creative unity in the LCY is all the more obvious and necessary if it is borne in mind that the LC will operate in a new democratic and pluralist ambience. Likewise, the fact should be borne in mind that Yugoslav (?self-managing) integration is an inevitable economic and social law, which also logically establishes political subjects that will be expressed as unified Yugoslav political and cohesive factors which will have an effect on creating a Yugoslav synthesis.

In its social and political basis and programmatic orientations, the LCY is the kind of organization that has the widest support among all working people of Yugoslavia and its peoples and nationalities.

This interpretation of the creation of unity in the LCY necessarily imposes the question of democratic centralism in the LCY and makes it exceptionally topical. In this connection, great differences have risen in the ranks of the LC. We must be clear about the fact that every political organization, regardless of its name and the political system in which it functions, must have some principles and mechanism that guarantee the efficiency of its action. There is no dispute about this. Whether this mechanism is called democratic centralism, party discipline, democratic unity or anything else does not alter the need for it to really guarantee and create conditions for efficiency in action.

After all, there would be no elementary reason for any kind of political organization to exist unless it ensured that a certain policy, adopted on democratic bases, be conducted. Because of this, we in the LC cannot accept those views that, together with a justified rejection of a bureaucratic element in the realization of this principle, would also reject the need for our organization to be efficient. Bearing in mind previous practice and its extremes, we see the transformation of the LCY as the means and opportunity for the radical advancement of the democratic elements in all relations in the LC. In all internal relations, the element of democracy must be an original and exemplary element. Democratic centralism can no longer imply procedures and mentalities that block the democratic potential and demands of the membership.

However, to make it possible for the LCY to exist, or rather to function as an organization, there is a need to implement the democratically made decisions within the entire LC, in which respect the principle of democratic centralism acquires a dominantly new democratic character. Without that, the LCY could not, objectively speaking, remain a single organization and therefore would not have a realistic chance of fighting for the unity of Yugoslavia, as a democratic socialist community of equal nations and people.

Connected with this is the question of decisionmaking in the highest organs of the LCY and the question of the Yugoslav endorsement of the policy that is conducted by every LC in the republics and provinces.

I am confident that the view has prevailed within the party public that the LC must resist any form of majorization both within its ranks and within our society as a whole when what we are talking about are fundamental questions of national equality and the very existence of the Yugoslav community. However, at the same time, it must oppose the pressure of separate logic when we are dealing with all other issues of LCY activity as a whole.

Just as the best ideas and concepts are compromised when they are carried out through orders under pressure, the protection of the rights of the minority too can misfire if it is raised to the level of a supreme principle to the neglect of the rights of the majority.

In this respect we must not replace the role and the commitment of the whole with the views of a part of that whole, or vice versa, to fence off their functional and developmental-dialectical interdependence. In particular we should change the logic whereby the implementation of the agreed policy is some sort of a command or hierarchical act, because that too requires a full creative attitude and the ability to efficiently elaborate global commitments in the specific conditions in which individual LC organs and organizations are operating.

In just the same way, we would have to affirm the stance that Yugoslav endorsement is a policy that is conducted and implemented by every LC and that the only prerequisite is that it really be Yugoslav. I am convinced that the only real democratic way is to carry out, on the basis of the different stances of the parts of the LCY, their general Yugoslav synthesis and verification, which would be established on the strategic orientations of this society and the general interests of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and the workers' class of Yugoslavia.

This ideopolitical attitude and orientation must be inherent to all republican and provincial organs of the LC, in which respect, the LCY, as the highest LC organ between two congresses, must ensure that the policy that is democratically adopted at the congresses of the LCY is efficiently elaborated and that, to an even greater extent, it expresses and asserts itself as an organ in which a democratic and progressive synthesis of strategic orientations and interests of the entire membership and parts of the LCY is being constructed.

Comrades, as an integral and inseparable part of the world, Yugoslavia shares and feels all misfortunes and progressive aspirations and processes in the modern world. Therefore, it is vitally interested in the overall situation, relations, and processes in the world, but not as a passive observer but as an active and involved factor which gives its maximum contribution to everything that leads to the strengthening of peace, international understanding, friendship, cooperation, and general world progress. On the other hand, Yugoslavia opened up to the world a long time ago, wanting everything that was progressive and helpful to civilization to have an impact on our entire social development too.

This interpretation of the world and Yugoslavia's place in it was and remains the result of the opening of new progressive and democratic visions and relations in our society, because of which, we have also been pioneers for the democratization and universality of world relations. Because of this we have also been pioneers for the policy of nonalignment, for overcoming unequal economic and political relations and wealth distribution, and for the affirmation of the United Nations, and so on. All this affirmed and strengthened even more our independence and our role as an independent and involved international factor and thus led to us acquiring a great standing and authority on a world scale.

A bold implementation of new visions of socialism in our country and the tackling of radical reforms of the economic and political systems during the ensuing period will not only restore Yugoslavia's shaken reputation in the world because of the serious economic and political crisis, but will further assert and strengthen our original commitment and principles concerning international relations and our standing and influence in the world.

The firm commitment of Yugoslavia and the LCY to express themselves even more as a very active participants in international relations and cooperation is motivated by very serious and contradictory ferments and processes taking place in the modern world. The state of world relations, which has to all intents and purposes been brought to the rubicon of a world catastrophe, particularly because of monstrous and absurd processes of armament and military confrontations, increasingly creates awareness of the imperative to construct a new vision of the world and relations within it.

In the process of the establishment of increasingly optimal and greater understanding on a world scale, especially between the great powers, significant processes of disarmament have been opened, military tension and bloc confrontations have been relaxed, and cooperation, dialogue, and a multilateral approach in the solution of international problems are being increasingly applied.

The issue of the international economic system and the problem of relations between the developed and the developing countries are being increasingly placed on the agenda—despite major opposition. The problems of economic and political integration on the regional, continental, and world scale are increasingly present, while the extremely alarming ecological problems of the world are ever more acquiring significance, representing as they do a common and widespread world concern.

It is in our vital interest that we make a constructive and positive contribution to all these and other processes in an even more committed and consistent manner. We must remain totally firm and resolute in denouncing everything that is at odds with these world processes and is an expression of the aspiration to continue to retain such international relations and positions that mean the domination and interference in the internal affairs of various countries and the exertion of both economic and political pressure.

The major radical changes in the countries of socialism have placed a significant stamp on global world processes. In vigorously breaking away from authoritarian relations and addressing themselves boldly toward overall social democratization and the opening toward the world, these countries too will be making an increasingly principled and major contribution to the overall democratization and humanization of international relations. In this field too the LCY, consistent to its principled commitments, will render full support for all these processes and progressive forces in these countries.

Proceeding from these views and attitudes of our country and the LCY, it is of exceptionally great interest to us that Yugoslavia should become even more involved in the well-known principles in the nonaligned movement, especially as one of its founders and as its current chairman. Also proceeding from these orientations toward joining all positive world processes and as a European country, Yugoslavia will open up new radical processes of its global and organic inclusion in all the topical economic and political processes with which Europe will no longer be seen as the biggest military training ground but an area of free movement of ideas, people, commodities, culture, knowledge, and general creativity and simple cultural competition and communion among peoples.

In continually expressing our interest in the Balkans, shedding such notions that it is a powder keg or a bastion of future confrontation, we shall continue making an active contribution to ensure that it becomes a zone of peace, cooperation, and understanding among the peoples and states and so on. The overall processes of democratization and new positive upsurges in Europe and in the Balkans too have brought about realistic and optimum conditions, making it possible for these vital interests of the Balkan people to be fulfilled more and more, especially in the overall economic and political field.

In this context, Yugoslavia will introduce in a far more committed way processes of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in all the areas of common interest, and will pay particular attention and display special concern for the status of sections of the Yugoslav peoples who as national minorities live in the neighboring countries so as to ensure their basic human, national, and democratic rights. Because of the importance of the question of the position of sections of our peoples who as national minorities live in neighboring countries, we are proposing that the congress adopt a special resolution.

Comrades, delegates, and guests, our 14th extraordinary congress is synonymous with the times, which we can describe as being profoundly revolutionary, crucial, and, I would say, historic. These are the times of the definite end of a historic stage in the development of socialism in our country, a time of an aggravated social crisis as an expression of deep-seated contradictions and ferment requiring a break with everything obsolete, and a daring opening of new visions of the overall social progress.

For the LC, the present time and this congress represent the beginning of its radical transformation in the direction of creating a new role for it, for the affirmation and further consolidation of its democratic, creative, and Yugoslav unity, all with the aim of producing a more efficient struggle for democratic socialism and a better and richer life for our people and for society as a whole.

These programmatic orientations of the LCY for creating new opportunities and visions of socialism in our country and its clear and deeply imbued Yugoslav democratic and federal orientation and its wide and sociopolitical basis, which is made up of the creators of material, spiritual, and cultural values, will affirm even more its role in society and will be its driving force in the further struggle for socialism.

In expressing our revolutionary and creative continuity and in relying on the great values achieved and the vast creative potential of our people, we must at this pivotal time show and prove that we possess the ability, strength, and revolutionary vision to usher in a new stage of development in our socialism. Let us display a high level of creative excitement, political wisdom, and realism; let us display unity on strategic issues; and let us display our great present and past responsibility to the peoples, nationalities, and the working class of Yugoslavia for the destiny and for the further development of socialism, self-management, democracy, and the overall prosperity of the independent and nonaligned Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Long live the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia! [applause]

Long live the League of Communists of Yugoslavia! [applause]

KOMMUNIST Director Resigns

LD1601202490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The fate of KOMUNIST in Macedonia, which has insurmountable losses, is extremely uncertain. Defeated by the fact that he cannot ensure regular publication of the newspaper and the employees' personal incomes, director and chief editor Manco Mitevski submitted his irrevocable resignation "for personal reasons and as a sign of protest over the situation in which the Macedonian League of Communists body finds itself." At today's session, he informed the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium that the newspaper will not be published this Friday, because there are no funds available to print it.

The Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium accepted Mitevski's resignation; it proposed journalist Jovan Baseski as the acting director and editor in chief. [passage ommitted]